

# Journal of the Royal Society of Arts

NO. 5058

MAY 1961

VOL. CIX

## FORTHCOMING MEETINGS

THURSDAY, 27TH APRIL, at **5.15 p.m.** COMMONWEALTH SECTION. (Joint meeting with the Royal Commonwealth Society.) *'The Work of the Commonwealth Societies'*, by the Right Honble. the Earl De La Warr, P.C., G.B.E., Chairman of the Joint Commonwealth Societies' Conference. Sir Cuthbert Ackroyd, Bt., J.P., LL.D., Chairman, Victoria League, in the Chair. (Tea will be served in the Library from 4.30 p.m.)

MONDAY, 1ST MAY, at **6 p.m.** The first of three CANTOR LECTURES on *'The Presentation of Science and the Arts on Television'*, entitled 'The Presentation of Science', by Tom A. Margerison, Ph.D. Mrs. Mary Adams, O.B.E., M.Sc., lately Head of B.B.C. Television Talks, and a Member of Council of the Society, in the Chair. (The lecture will be illustrated by lantern slides.)

WEDNESDAY, 3RD MAY, at **6 p.m.** *'Technical Advances in Packaging'*, by V. G. W. Harrison, Ph.D., Director, Printing, Packaging and Allied Trades Research Association. Milner Gray, R.D.I., PP.S.I.A., a Member of Council of the Society, in the Chair. (The paper will be illustrated by lantern slides.)

MONDAY, 8TH MAY, at **6 p.m.** The second of three CANTOR LECTURES on *'The Presentation of Science and the Arts on Television'*, entitled "The Presentation of the Visual Arts", by Basil Taylor, Hon.A.R.C.A., Reader in General Studies and Librarian, Royal College of Art. (The lecture will be illustrated by lantern slides.)

TUESDAY, 9TH MAY, at **5.15 p.m.** COMMONWEALTH SECTION. (Joint Meeting with the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society, the East India Association, and the Royal Commonwealth Society.) SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD MEMORIAL LECTURE. *'Rabindranath Tagore'*, by Professor George E. Gordon Catlin, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.S.L. His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, M.C., Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Commonwealth Relations Office, in the Chair. (Tea will be served in the Library from 4.30 p.m.) *Fellows will require tickets of admission for this meeting.*

WEDNESDAY, 10TH MAY, at **6 p.m.** 'The Future Pattern of University Education in the United Kingdom', by J. S. Fulton, M.A., Principal, University College of Sussex. R. O. Buchanan, M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D., Professor of Geography, London School of Economics (University of London), in the Chair.

MONDAY, 15TH MAY, at 6 p.m. The last of three CANTOR LECTURES on '*The Presentation of Science and the Arts on Television*', entitled 'The Presentation of Music', by Lionel Salter, M.A., Mus.B., L.R.A.M., Head of Music Production, B.B.C. Television. William Alwyn, F.R.A.M., formerly Professor of Composition, Royal Academy of Music, in the Chair. (The lecture will be illustrated by lantern slides.)

WEDNESDAY, 17TH MAY, at 2.30 p.m. 'Adapting Western Ideas to Emergent Countries', by M. G. Ionides, B.A., A.M.I.C.E. Sir Allen Daley, M.D., F.R.C.P., Chairman, The Chadwick Trustees, in the Chair.

THURSDAY, 18TH MAY, at 5.15 p.m. COMMONWEALTH SECTION. NEIL MATHESON MCWHARRIE LECTURE. '*Recent Economic Developments in Canada*', by His Excellency the Honble. George A. Drew, P.C., Q.C., High Commissioner for Canada. The Rt. Honble. The Lord Tweedsmuir, O.B.E., LL.D., in the Chair. (Tea will be served in the Library from 4.30 p.m.) *Fellows will require tickets of admission for this meeting.*

THURSDAY, 25TH MAY, at 5.15 p.m. COMMONWEALTH SECTION. HENRY MORLEY LECTURE. '*Bauxite and Aluminium with particular reference to the Commonwealth*', by Wilfred Brining, A.C.A., Chairman, Almin Limited. S. E. Clotworthy, C.B.E., Chairman, Alcan Industries, in the Chair. (Tea will be served in the Library from 4.30 p.m.)

*Fellows are entitled to attend any of the Society's meetings without tickets (except where otherwise stated), and may also bring two guests. When they cannot accompany their guests, Fellows may give them special passes, books of which can be obtained on application to the Secretary.*

### THOMAS GRAY MEMORIAL TRUST

#### PRIZE FOR A DEED OF PROFESSIONAL MERIT

In recognition of the remarkable skill which is so constantly displayed at sea, the Council of the Royal Society of Arts, which administers the Thomas Gray Memorial Trust, offers again this year an award for a deed of outstanding professional merit by a member of the British Merchant Navy. It has been decided that, in addition to the Society's Silver Medal, the award shall also include a money prize of £25. The period to be covered by the present offer will be the year ending 30th September, 1961, and deeds of a character worthy to be considered for the award may be brought to the notice of the Council by any person not later than 31st December, 1961. They will not, however, be considered by the judges unless they have been endorsed by a recognized authority or responsible person able to testify to the deed to be adjudged.

The Council reserves the right to withhold the above award at its discretion.

The Silver Medal for 1960 has, on the recommendation of the Trust Committee, been awarded to Skipper Albert Brown, of the steam trawler *Northern Foam*, for his part in the following operation at sea, described in a report received from the Ministry of Transport:

On 16th January, 1960, the steam trawler *Sletnes* left Grimsby for a fishing

trip. Later that day at approximately 1500 hours the Chief Engineer reported engine trouble, and despite temporary repairs this persisted until 2000 hours on Sunday the 17th, whereupon Skipper Charles Sleeth decided to put into Aberdeen for repairs. At 17.30 hours on Wednesday, 20th January, *Sletnes* set course once again for the White Sea. However, at 23.30 hours the Chief Engineer reported further trouble and advised against continuing the trip. *Sletnes* was then in position about 70 miles from Aberdeen. Weather had begun to freshen from the south-east, and by about 0800 hours on the 21st the wind had increased to gale force 8-9. At 06.15 hours *Sletnes* was forced to stop engines, being 16 miles east-south-east of Buchan Ness with wind south-south-east force 9.

Steam trawler *Northern Foam*, owned by Northern Trawlers Ltd., in command of Skipper Albert Brown, left Grimsby on 20th January for a fishing trip. At about 0800 hours on 21st January she sighted a signal from a trawler lying dead ahead, apparently in trouble, and by means of radio telephone established that the distressed vessel was *Sletnes*. The wind was then at gale force 7-8, south-south-east and a heavy swell was running.

At approximately 08.30 *Northern Foam* had reached a position east-south-east of Buchan Ness and 16 miles away by Radar calculation. Skipper Brown stopped engines and *Northern Foam* moved in across *Sletnes*'s stern and close to her port side to leeward. *Sletnes* fired across to *Northern Foam* a rocket to which was attached a line, a length of buoy wire and a messenger. These were caught by *Northern Foam* and secured to both her warps. *Sletnes* then hove these on board. *Northern Foam* had secured her warps to the end of the messengers and *Sletnes* secured these to her length of cable.

Tow commenced at approximately 0950 hours on course west-south-west, but owing to the rapid deterioration of the weather conditions the going was too heavy and no headway was made. Skipper Brown decided therefore to tow head to wind. At 1345 hours the tow parted about 5 fathoms from *Northern Foam*'s end, and by this time the Radar had ceased to function. Using the same procedure as before, a second tow line was secured in 1515 hours. Weather conditions, which had steadily worsened throughout the operation, were now extremely bad, with a strong wind at gale force 8-9.

Towing recommenced, but at 1645 hours it was discovered that one of the warps had parted, and so once again towing ceased until the warp was made secure. Then once more the two vessels got under way.

Thus the tow continued from 1745 until 2030 hours, when the weather moderated and better progress was made.

The two vessels arrived off Aberdeen at approximately 0240 hours on Friday, 22nd January, and when about 7 cables from the pier one of the tow warps slipped. *Northern Foam* dropped anchor, swung head to wind, gave three half turns astern, and the warps cleared. At 0530 hours *Northern Foam* asked *Sletnes* to weigh anchor, as a pilot had come aboard. She then towed *Sletnes* into Aberdeen harbour, where the latter was taken over by a harbour tug at 0650 hours.

*Northern Foam* had towed *Sletnes* a distance of some 37 miles, and this had taken about 28 hours, for the most part in extremely bad weather conditions.

#### AWARD FOR JOURNALISM IN THE COMMONWEALTH

In the September, 1960, issue of the *Journal* it was announced that the Council had decided to institute an award to be made to an individual journalist, selected

from any country in the Commonwealth except the United Kingdom, who should be considered to fulfil the following epitome:

- 'has, during the last three years, made the most distinguished contribution to the highest standards of his profession, both by the quality, accuracy and objectivity of his work and by his example, and has best promoted amongst his own people a closer understanding and appreciation of the problems and achievements of his country and of the Commonwealth as a whole.'

Nominations for the award were received from Aden, Australia, the Bahamas, Canada, Jamaica, Pakistan, Rhodesia and Nyasaland and South Africa. On the recommendation of a special panel of assessors, the Council has now made the award to Mr. Bruce Hutchison, editor of *The Victoria Daily Times* (Canada), whose name was put forward by the Canadian section of the Commonwealth Press Union.

A Canadian by birth, Mr. Hutchison entered journalism at the age of 16. He was appointed editor of *The Victoria Daily Times* in 1950. During the last three years he has (for the second time) won the Canadian National Newspaper award in recognition of his foreign correspondence, and has also received the Bowater award 'for achievement in the Commonwealth and international fields of Canadian journalism'. Early in 1960 he was responsible for an important series of articles on the relationships of the United States to Canada and the Commonwealth. In September of last year he undertook visits to this country and Europe in order to report in depth on the problems and relationships of the North Atlantic nations, especially as between the United Kingdom and Canada. In this, the most ambitious series he has written, Mr. Hutchison has been particularly concerned to analyse the problems of preferences and tariffs. *The Victoria Daily Times* is one of a group of seven Canadian newspapers, and a large proportion of Mr. Hutchison's writings have in consequence attained a very wide circulation.

In making this award the Council have acted on the advice of a special panel of assessors, including Mr. Walton A. Cole (General Manager, Reuters), Brigadier Lionel Cross (Secretary, Commonwealth Press Union), Mr. Arthur Watson (formerly Managing Editor of the *Daily Telegraph*) and representatives of the Colonial Office. The Council is indebted to these gentlemen for their help and advice, and it also wishes to express its gratitude to the Colonial Office and the Commonwealth Press Union for most valuable assistance and support in arranging the award.

#### EXHIBITION OF BURSARY DESIGNS

The exhibition of winning and commended designs submitted in the 1960 Industrial Art Bursaries Competition will be held in the Society's exhibition rooms (which are reached from 18 Adam Street) from Tuesday, 2nd May until Friday, 19th May. As announced in the last issue of the *Journal*, special cards of admission are required for the opening ceremony at 3 p.m. on 2nd May. Thereafter the



MAY 1961

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS

hours of ordinary viewing are as follows: Mondays to Fridays, from 10 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.; Saturdays, from 10 a.m. to 12.30 p.m.

### INCOME TAX RELIEF ON ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS

Fellows who have joined the Society during the last year or so may not know that, under certain circumstances, they are able to claim income tax relief on their annual subscriptions. The circumstances and manner in which such a claim can be made are explained in the following letter from the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, which is reprinted from the November, 1958, *Journal*:

INLAND REVENUE  
Chief Inspector of Taxes Branch  
New Wing, Somerset House,  
London, W.C.2.

In any reply please quote:  
C.L./SUB/206

8th October, 1958.

DEAR SIR,

I have to inform you that the Commissioners of Inland Revenue have approved The Royal Society of Arts for the purposes of Section 16, Finance Act, 1958, and that the whole of the annual subscription paid by a member who qualifies for relief under that Section will be allowable as a deduction from his emoluments assessable to income tax under Schedule E. If any material relevant change in the circumstances of the Society should occur in the future you are requested to notify this office.

I should be glad if you would inform your members as soon as possible of the approval of the Society. The circumstances and manner in which they may make claims to income tax relief are described in the following paragraphs, the substance of which you may care to pass on to your members.

Commencing with the year to 5th April, 1959, a member who is an office holder or employee is entitled to a deduction from the amount of his emoluments assessable to income tax under Schedule E of the whole of his annual subscription to the Society *provided that*—

(a) the subscription is defrayed out of the emoluments of the office or employment, and

(b) the activities of the Society so far as they are directed to all or any of the following objects—

- (i) the advancement or spreading of knowledge (whether generally or among persons belonging to the same or similar professions or occupying the same or similar positions);
- (ii) the maintenance or improvement of standards of conduct and competence among the members of any profession;
- (iii) the indemnification or protection of members of any profession against claims in respect of liabilities incurred by them in the exercise of their profession;

are relevant to the office or employment, that is to say, the performance of the duties of the office or employment is directly affected by the knowledge concerned or involves the exercise of the profession concerned.

A member of the Society who is entitled to the relief should apply to his tax office as soon as possible after 31st October, 1958, for Form P358 on which to make a claim for adjustment of his pay as you earn coding.

The Secretary,  
The Royal Society of Arts.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sgd.) T. DUNSMORE,  
Senior Principal Inspector of Taxes.

Claims for income tax relief in accordance with the terms of this ruling are, of course, a matter for private negotiations between Fellows and their local tax officers, and it will be appreciated that the Secretary is not able to act as an intermediary in this matter.

### MEETING OF COUNCIL

A meeting of Council was held on Monday, 10th April. Present: Lord Bossom (in the Chair); Mrs. Mary Adams; Sir Hilary Blood; the Honble. G. C. H. Chubb; Lord Conesford; Mr. R. E. Dangerfield; Mr. E. Maxwell Fry; Mr. John Gloag; Sir Ernest Goodale; Professor R. Y. Goodden; Dr. Stanley Gooding; Mr. Milner Gray; Dr. R. W. Holland; Mr. Antony Hopkins; Mr. J. C. Jones; Mr. Edgar Lawley; Sir Harry Lindsay; Lord Nathan; Lord Netherthorpe; Mr. Paul Reilly; Sir Gilbert Rennie; Mr. A. R. N. Roberts; Sir Philip Southwell; Professor S. Tolansky; Mr. G. E. Tonge; Mr. C. M. Vignoles; Mr. Hugh A. Warren; Sir Harold Wernher, and Miss Anna Zinkeisen; with Mr. G. E. Mercer (Deputy Secretary) and Mr. J. S. Skidmore (Assistant Secretary).

### ELECTIONS

The following candidates were duly elected Fellows of the Society:

Barker, Stanley Melville, B.Sc., A.I.M., Twickenham, Middlesex.  
 Bennitt, John Hector, M.A., F.R.I.C., Birmingham.  
 Berbank, Denis Albert, South Woodford, Essex.  
 Bignell, Donald Ewart, Leamington Spa, Warwickshire.  
 Box-Grainger, Mrs. Jane Avril, London.  
 Bradley, Derek Walter, Croydon, Surrey.  
 Campeau, Charles Edward, B.A., B.A.Sc., P.Eng., M.P., Montreal, Canada.  
 Carthy, John Dennis, M.A., Ph.D., Woodford Green, Essex.  
 Chalmers, Miss Isabella Margaret, Lossiemouth, Moray.  
 Cohen, Professor Maxwell, B.A., LL.M., Westmount, P.Q., Canada.  
 Clarke, John Alan, N.D.D., A.T.D., Shrewsbury, Shropshire.  
 Cole, Mrs. Constance Ursula, L.L.A., London.  
 Cress, Frederick Harold, N.D.D., A.T.D., Birmingham.  
 Dathorne, Oscar Ronald, M.A., Zaria, Northern Nigeria, West Africa.  
 Fisk, Sidney Hubert, A.R.I.B.A., F.R.I.C.S., London.  
 German, William Horace, M.R.I.N.A., Baie D'Urfée, Quebec, Canada.  
 Gingras, Professor Gustave, M.D., Montreal, Quebec, Canada.  
 Hammond, Walter Iden, Loughton, Essex.  
 Hitchin, Francis, Dudley, Worcestershire.  
 Holford, Sir William Graham, F.R.I.B.A., London.  
 Jebson, Eric, Stockport, Lancashire.  
 Jones, James William, Dudley, Worcestershire.  
 Kenyon, Charles Derek, Goostrey, Cheshire.  
 LeBlond, Professor Wilfred, M.D., D.P.H., Quebec, P.Q., Canada.  
 Levinson, Leon de Hirsch, B.A., Westmount, P.Q., Canada.  
 Lewis, Ronald Albert, Coventry.  
 Lortie, Professor Léon, D.Sc., F.R.S.C., Montreal, P.Q., Canada.  
 Maxwell, Mrs. Maria Perceval, Montreal, P.Q., Canada.  
 McGrath, Mrs. Anne, York.  
 Marsden, Bernard, A.M.I.E.E., London.  
 Marshman, Arthur Albert John, A.R.I.B.A., Overstone, Northamptonshire.  
 Nebbs, Roy Thomas, Chatham, Kent.

Pilkington, William, Liverpool.  
 Rees, William John, Hove, Sussex.  
 Réthi, Miss Lili Elizabeth, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.  
 Rodwell, Kenneth Matthew, Banstead, Surrey.  
 Schamberg, Miss Mabel, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.  
 Schreck, Michael Henry, Long Island, N.Y., U.S.A.  
 Skinner, Miss Margaret Grace, M.A., London.  
 Smith, Mrs. Enid, LL.B., Ware, Hertfordshire.  
 Smith, Stanley Arthur, N.D.D., Hatfield, Hertfordshire.  
 Weise, Milton Ludlow, A.M.I.Struct.E., London.  
 Yousuf, H.E. Lieut.-General Mohammed, London.  
 Young, Hubert Dennis, London.

The following candidates were duly elected Associates of the Society, all except the candidate marked with an asterisk being Industrial Art Bursary winners in 1960:

Bauer, Miss Carolyn Janet, Shipley, Yorkshire.  
 Bingham, Miss Cynthia Maureen, Margate, Kent.  
 Darlow, John, Northampton.  
 Lenaghan, John, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.  
 Long, Trevor Jack, Banstead, Surrey.  
 Mynard, Charles Graham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.  
 \*Norris, Philip Nigel, London.  
 Ogle, Miss Ann Elizabeth, Coventry.  
 Picknett, Miss Pamela Doreen, Worcester Park, Surrey.  
 Pope, Michael Shaun Brownfield, Reading, Berkshire.  
 Price, Miss Margaret Mary, Oldham, Lancashire.  
 Reed, Kenneth, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.  
 Twomey, Miss Tanagra June, Alton, Hampshire.  
 Vayro, John Rennis, Crook, Co. Durham.

The following Companies were duly admitted into association with the Society:

The Birmingham Small Arms Company Ltd., Birmingham.  
 Westland Aircraft Ltd., Yeovil, Somerset.  
 George Wimpey & Co. Ltd., London.

#### CHRISTMAS CARD FOR 1961

It was reported that Mr. Edward Bawden, R.A., R.D.I., had agreed to design the Society's Christmas card for 1961.

#### THOMAS GRAY MEMORIAL TRUST

The report of the responsible committee on the activities of the Thomas Gray Memorial Trust was received, and its proposals for 1961 were approved. (See also Notice on p. 404.)

#### AWARD FOR JOURNALISM IN THE COMMONWEALTH

It was agreed that the Society's first award for Journalism in the Commonwealth should be made to Mr. Bruce Hutchison (see Notice on p. 405).

#### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Council agreed that the Annual General Meeting should be held on Wednesday, 28th June, 1961, at 3 p.m.

#### ANY OTHER BUSINESS

A quantity of financial and other business was transacted.

# THE RESTORATION PORTRAIT

*The Fred Cook Memorial Lecture by*

OLIVER MILLAR, M.V.O., F.S.A.,

*Deputy Surveyor of The Queen's Pictures, delivered to the  
Society on 18th January, 1961, with Sir Harold Wernher,  
Bt., G.C.V.O., T.D., D.L., a Vice-President of the Society,  
in the Chair*

THE CHAIRMAN: This is the sixth lecture to be given under the Cook Memorial Trust. Fred Cook was a Fellow of this Society, and when he died his wife endowed this series of lectures to be devoted to the Old Masters. This afternoon we are very lucky to have with us Mr. Oliver Millar, Deputy Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures, to talk on the Restoration period. He is, of course, particularly well versed in the period, as those who remember his and Dr. Whinney's book covering the subject and—even more—as those who have visited the exhibition he has arranged at Burlington House, will know. We have two extremes on in London at the moment: at Burlington House are pictures and works of art from that period, many of them lent from the Royal Collection, which I hope you have all seen; and at the other end of the scale, we have the modern and recent paintings up to 1958, which have been lent by Mr. Whitney, the former American Ambassador, to the Tate Gallery.

Mr. Millar did me a good turn once. He may have forgotten it, but I think the story is worth recording. My house is open to the public. For many years we have had a picture rather sketchily labelled 'Sir Peter Lely'. I was convinced that it was not by Lely because it was supposed to be a portrait of Nell Gwynn, and showed her in a train with an ermine cape. In spite of her connections I did not think you could quite associate an ermine cape with her. So the picture always puzzled me, until one day when I was sitting at a meeting in St. James's Palace, I saw a picture which I thought was of exactly the same woman. So I asked Mr. Millar and he came to see my picture, and said that of course it was not Nell Gwynn at all, but Princess Anne, who afterwards became Queen Anne; and it was not by Lely, but by Wissing, a painter of the same period. His verdict was confirmed by a much less enlightened person who happened to come round my house to see the collection; a working man, who stood there looking at the label 'Sir Peter Lely', and at the picture, for some time, and then said, 'It is a woman!' So one of the guides said, 'Of course it is; cannot you see it?' 'It doesn't say so', he replied, 'It says "Peter Lely".' So you see Mr. Millar's confirmation of the picture was correct!

*The following lecture, which was illustrated by lantern slides, was then delivered.*

## THE LECTURE

The ghost of Sir Anthony Van Dyck haunts the *Age of Charles II* at the Royal Academy this winter as he must have haunted the minds of painters and their patrons in the Restoration world. Old men at the court of Charles II could perhaps remember the stir Van Dyck had caused when he came to work for Charles I in 1632. They may have realized how unlike the transient visions conjured up by Van Dyck at the earlier court were the portraits painted for the King and his rejoicing courtiers; and they would certainly have perceived how deeply indebted the Restoration portrait-painters were to the predecessor they admired so deeply.

Of the depth of this admiration there can be no doubt and we can trace it back almost to Van Dyck's untimely death at the end of 1641. We do not know what happened to his studio at Blackfriars or to its contents; but by the end of the 1640s many of Van Dyck's portraits were coming on the market. Dealers and collectors pursued them keenly. Richard Symonds, whose notebooks describe so vividly the effect on the arts of those unhappy times, wrote, 'In y<sup>e</sup> yeares 1651 1652 y<sup>e</sup> things of Van Dyke were bought up by the Flemyngs at any rate w<sup>ch</sup> were the Kings'.<sup>1</sup> The royal family had owned, of course, a superb collection, perhaps the most magnificent that has ever been put together, of pictures by their favourite painter: four subject-pictures and at least thirty-two portraits or groups. The Trustees appointed by the Council of State to value the late King's possessions rated them very highly. For the great equestrian portraits of the King they asked £150 and £200; a full-length was appraised at £60; a half-length was rated at £30; the large family groups were valued at £150 and £120, double portraits at between £60 and £30. These do not sound very formidable sums to us, but you could have bought a noble full length by Daniel Mytens, Van Dyck's most accomplished and successful predecessor in the King's service, for £20 and his *Self-portrait* for £6; Van Dyck's *Self-portrait* would have cost you £15 and Rubens's only £16.

When, late in 1653, Cardinal Mazarin gave special instructions to his agent in London to buy portraits by Van Dyck, he was told that the pictures which he might be able to acquire were already in the hands of painters and greatly esteemed by them. In October, 1654, he could have bought the lovely group of the *Three Children of Charles I.* Fortunately it was too expensive for him. There seems little doubt that the painter to whom it belonged in 1654 was Peter Lely, and it was certainly his in 1660. He had, of course, to cede this piece to the Crown at the Restoration, but twenty-two years later, when his own admirable collection came to be sold, it contained, 'Of Sir Anthony Vandyke, being his best Pieces' thirty-seven grisailles, the Garter sketch, two religious pictures, a self-portrait, four groups, and eighteen single portraits.<sup>2</sup>

For us these 'best Pieces' illustrate a debt Lely never ceased to acknowledge. His first influential patron in London in the 1640s seems to have been the Earl of Northumberland, who had been one of Van Dyck's most constant and appreciative patrons. The commissions that he gave to the young Lely were probably no more valuable than the opportunities they offered to him of repeated visits to Northumberland House. There he would have seen the glowing series of Van Dyck's portraits of Northumberland's family (Figure 1) and friends to which the portraits he was now painting for the Earl (Figure 2) were to be a sequel. That they reveal a marked dependence on, indeed an adherence almost too devoted to, Van Dyck's lovely inventions, is hardly surprising; but even when he had become a mature and thoroughly confident painter, the dependence is felt. One feels it particularly if one considers the portraits of Van Dyck that Lely owned and that hung as a permanent source of inspiration in his grand house on the Piazza at Covent Garden. In a portrait such as Van Dyck's *Duchess of Richmond* (Windsor), which Lely owned and probably copied, the bold drawing of the draperies, the creamy texture and silver tone, and indeed the rather pouting artificiality of the



FIGURE 1. Sir Anthony Van Dyck. *Dorothy, Countess of Sunderland* (Petworth)



FIGURE 2. Sir Peter Lely. *Elizabeth, Countess of Essex* (Petworth)

allegorical idiom, are of obvious significance for Lely's less subtle presentations. The contrast between the temperaments of the two painters can be sensed in a comparison, for example, between Van Dyck's *Thomas Killigrew* (Figure 3), in the marvellous double portrait at Windsor, and Lely's *Lord Clifford* (Figure 4). Van Dyck's *Killigrew* is thoughtful, detached, very far from us. Lord Clifford, set in the same pose of recognized melancholy, is more stagey, more aggressive, really in our company; one can almost feel the hairs curling over his brow and the firm closing of the mouth. Lely's handling is tough, vibrant, assured; Van Dyck's is delicate, nervous and feminine. Lely paints with his wrist; Van Dyck with his fingers.

When, in October, 1661, Van Dyck's old annual pension of £200 was revived on Lely's behalf, his position as Van Dyck's successor was officially recognized. We are right to think of him as the only painter of his day to attain a position approaching Van Dyck's envied standing in society and as the leading representative in his own time of that central theme in British painting, the Van Dyck tradition. It was Lely, above all others, who standardized this tradition, setting in order with his clear, business-like, cynical mind, the elusive heritage Van Dyck had bequeathed: classifying his patterns, infusing with fresh vigour the *ennui* which one can feel in a characterization or a surface by Van Dyck, even cutting out to standard sizes canvases for given poses.

It is probable that the allusions and allegories in Van Dyck's English portraits could always have been explained by some special circumstance. We shall not find this integrity in fashionable Restoration portraiture, of which Wycherley's Plain Dealer speaks harshly in his Prologue:

Pictures too like the ladies will not please;  
They must be drawn too here like goddesses.  
You, as at Lely's too, would truncheon wield,  
And look like heroes in a painted field.

From the Restoration onwards Lely, as you know, tended more and more, though the practice does not become really oppressive until the 1670s, to use the same pattern for different sitters. This strangely contemptuous device must have been forced on him by the increasing strain on his strength and skill; but while a particularly dashing late pattern is certainly convincing for Sir Thomas Isham, a young virtuoso-rake fresh from Rome, it is meaningless, indeed grotesque, for old Sir Ralph Verney. And he inevitably did much to kill, by sheer over-work, the conventional patterns for the female portrait. Pope sounded the death-knell of these tawdry ideas, especially of the sadly shop-soiled, once so enchanting, Arcadian convention, in his *Epistle to a Lady*: 'Whether the Charmer sinner it or saint it, If Folly grows romantic, I must paint it.'

Between 1660 and his death in 1680, Lely's position was almost unassailable. He had been in London all through the Interregnum, with the exception of a short visit to Holland in 1656, and had built up a clientèle with influential families—Capels, Dormers, Somersets, and the like—which stood him in good stead for many years. He organized his team of assistants, larger than Van Dyck's but perhaps smaller than Kneller's, so efficiently that a portrait or a set of portraits





FIGURE 3. Sir Anthony Van Dyck. *Thomas Killigrew (detail)*; reproduced by gracious permission of H.M. The Queen



FIGURE 4. Sir Peter Lely. *Thomas, 1st Baron Clifford (Lord Clifford)*

could be put together very quickly. He himself worked with extreme rapidity. By the end of his career the patterns offered to a patron had been classified to render them at once available, and the quantity of pictures left in his studio at his sudden death on 30th November, 1680, attests the amount of work that he could tackle. Over one hundred originals, some twenty drawings and nearly two hundred copies were sold off by his executors. And he was immensely successful. By 1662 sittings to him were booked nearly a month in advance; in August, 1679, a patron wrote of the progress of portraits commissioned from Lely: 'the fayrer sex has so consumed M<sup>r</sup> lillye's time of Late, that till tuesday next, I canot expect he will have done anything considerable.'<sup>3</sup> He was a man of substance and property, who entertained lavishly: Pepys caught a glimpse on 20th October, 1662, of 'what pomp his table was laid for himself to go to dinner'; Henry More wrote in 1671 that Lely 'lives very gently and treated us nobly at a Dinner';<sup>4</sup> and at Christmas time, 1675, Robert Hooke drank with Lely 'rare but heady wine'.<sup>5</sup> Lely is thus the great fashionable painter of the Restoration age. 'For God's sake, Sir Peter', a close friend once asked him, 'how came you to have so great a reputation? You know that I know you are no painter.' 'My lord, I know I am not', he replied, 'but I am the best you have.'<sup>6</sup>

That was true, but he did not monopolize portrait-practice in London, and the Scotsman Michael Wright, a man of a very different temper, seems to fit more easily into some circles in Restoration society. He had been abroad in the Interregnum, had probably met Bernini, Poussin and Velazquez, and was a Roman Catholic. He had been for a time in the service of the Archduke Leopold William in Flanders and had almost certainly made contact with the exiled court. In his four most significant canvases he reveals himself as the true 'Pictor Regius', a title which Mytens had used on a portrait of Charles I, but for which no official warrant has come to light as far as Wright is concerned. His ceiling painting for the King's Bedchamber at Whitehall, gauche, learned and vaguely Roman, may have pleased the King by its cosmopolitan flavour; his picture of the third Lord Arundell and his wife at the foot of the Cross (Figure 5) is one of the most remarkable Roman Catholic pieces in England; his portrait of Sir Neil O'Neill in 1680 invests with a magnificently barbaric splendour this image of one of James II's most devoted followers; and his monumental portrait of Charles II is a clear proclamation of the Stuart conception of Divine Right, a shrewd portrait of the restored King and an image of God's anointed, restored, robed and crowned, which seems medieval (one thinks of *Richard II* in Westminster Abbey), if not Byzantine, in comparison with the gentlemanly ease of Van Dyck's state portrait of Charles I. These three last are, in their time, unusual; and Wright's portraits are almost always free of the conventions that pall so rapidly in the work of his more successful rivals. He never acquired Lely's technical assurance, there is often an angular lack of comfort in his designs, and his paint never has Lely's lovely creamy texture; but his colour has its own rather glacial charm and the ungainliness of his attitudes only serves to enhance the utter sincerity with which his sitters gaze out at us: caught with a charming lack of sophistication in moods of gallantry, gaiety or melancholy. They are the portraits of a man whom a friend described as 'free and open; and innocently



FIGURE 5. J. M. Wright. *Lord and Lady Arundell (Wardour Castle)*



FIGURE 6. J. M. Wright. *The Cecil Children (Hatfield)*



FIGURE 7. Jacob Huysmans. *Elizabeth, Duchess of Powis* (?) (*Powis Castle*)



FIGURE 8. Samuel Van Hoogstraeten. *Sir Norton Knatchbull* (*Lord Brabourne*)

merry in his conversation (especially amongst his friends), of great plainness and simplicity, and of a very easy temper.<sup>7</sup> If we compare General Monck as we see him through the eyes of Lely and Wright we shall see at once the difference between the two men. Lely gives us a solidly welded, massively baroque, rather Dutch impression of an inscrutable contemporary hero; Wright's Monck is wearier and much less overbearing, a slightly pathetic figure, not quite at ease in the splendid apparel and against the teeming background with which Wright makes up a decorative, ungainly design. It is also surely significant that Wright was a particularly sensitive painter of children (Figure 6), accepting them as people and respecting their reserves; Lely very rarely painted children by themselves.

The cosmopolitan elements in Wright's style, which we can see in the Flemish prototypes for the Arundells at the Cross or in the Roman influence behind the ceiling for the King's Bedchamber, suggest that Wright would have been happy in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the court of Charles II and James II. Indeed, almost the last we hear of him is as secretary to Lord Castlemaine, that poor prince of cuckolds, on the disastrous embassy from James to Innocent XI in 1687. At the court of the last Stuart kings the Roman Catholic element was much less reticent than it had been in the days of Charles I and Henrietta Maria. Wright's Catholicism was, until 1688, an undoubted asset and the Flemish Jacob Huysmans probably owed to his religion his position as Catherine of Braganza's favourite painter. His style, at its most elaborate, seems one of the most ebulliently vulgar manifestations of Restoration culture and illustrates the same exaggerated developments of Van Dyck's manner that we find at this time in The Hague in the more ambitious works of Hanneman: so exaggerated that we tend not to recognize the derivation from Van Dyck of a portrait such as the Duchess of Powis (Figure 7); nor to observe the honesty, and sometimes even the charm, with which Huysmans could paint a face. There could be no greater contrast with Huysmans at his most ornate than the sober likenesses, painted for country gentlemen of scholarly pursuits by Rembrandt's pupil Samuel van Hoogstraeten (Figure 8). The success of Guercino's nephew, Benedetto Gennari, was also due to the cosmopolitan tastes of the King and his brother. But it was the court of their cousin Louis XIV at Versailles that exercised the most powerful external influence on the culture, on the music, the drama and the arts, of the Caroline court:

While Troops of famish'd *Frenchmen* hither drive,  
And laugh at those upon whose *Alms* they live:  
Old *English* Authors vanish and give place  
To these new Conqu'rors of the *Norman Race*.<sup>8</sup>

Claude and Philippe Vignon, Henri Gascars, and Simon Verelst in his portraits, brought to the English court the nonsensical mannerisms of French court portraiture, then at its lowest ebb: with its 'Embroidery, fine Cloaths, lac'd Drapery, and a great Variety of Trumpery Ornaments'. Gascars' success—he is reported to have returned to France with more than £10,000 in his pocket—was probably due to the good offices of the King's beloved sister, Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans. Indeed, he may have come in her train when, in 1670, the Duchess brought over the terms of the Secret Treaty of Dover; and thereafter he and his like owed a great

deal to the Duchess' other protégée, Louise de Keroualle, who was thenceforward the 'chief support' of the French interest at the English court. But, despite the glamour in which the French and Frenchified painters thrived at Whitehall, it is interesting that a serious critic like Roger North was not blinded by their success: 'the florid Cascar [Figure 9] is nothing in the presence of the great Lely'.<sup>9</sup>

It was from France also that Charles II imported a diluted style of baroque decorative painting in which he could be painted in less worldly terms than in the portraits of Lely or Gascars. Allegorical portraiture was no new thing in England, but earlier examples of it on a grand scale are rare. The iconography of Queen Elizabeth was, in this respect, on a fairly small scale and was often developed by the engraver rather than the painter. Charles I and Henrietta Maria had been painted as Apollo and Diana, patrons of the Liberal Arts, and as St. George and the captive Princess; and Charles I had commissioned from Rubens a magnificent tribute to his father's reign and to his political theories. When the Neapolitan—and, again, the Roman Catholic—Antonio Verrio came to England in the early 1670s, fresh from Paris and direct contact with the *Style Louis XIV*, he brought over the vocabulary which had been coined for Louis XIV under the auspices of Charles Le Brun and through which the character and glorious achievements of the Sun King were being proclaimed on the vast areas of wall and ceiling at Versailles. Verrio was commissioned to do exactly the same thing, though with less good material to work on, at Windsor for Charles II and his Queen. Unfortunately very little of this great undertaking survives: two of the ceilings in which Queen Catherine appears can still be seen at Windsor, but all the ceilings dedicated to the King were long ago torn down. From the early accounts of the Castle one can, however, loosely reconstitute the scheme of the decorations in which the Stuart conception of Divine Right, of which we saw a hint in Michael Wright's portrait of the King, was set out as unequivocally as it had been by Rubens, and in which Charles could declare openly his admiration for the absolutist theories of kingship which his cousin embodied. The visitor to the Castle could gaze up at the Triumph of Britannia over the Four Continents; at Mercury showing the portrait of Charles II to the Four Quarters of the World; at Charles II riding in triumph over Envy and Ignorance or apparently receiving a supplicant France; above all at the triumphal Apotheosis of Charles II, in the central space in the ceiling of St. George's Hall, assisted by his three kingdoms, by Plenty, War and Peace, Religion, Eternity, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance and Prudence, trampling down Rebellion and Faction in the shape of the libel-dispersing Earl of Shaftesbury. Perhaps the closest literary parallel in these themes is to be found in the satires and other verse which the times inspired in Dryden, in *Absalom and Achitophel*, in parts of *The Hind and the Panther*, or in his opera, *Albion and Albanus*:

Albanus, lord of land and main,  
Shall with fraternal virtues reign . . .

Adored and feared, and loved no less;  
In war Victorious, mild in peace,  
The joy of man, and Jove's increase.



FIGURE 9. Henri Gascars. *Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans* (Goodwood)



FIGURE 10. Samuel Cooper. *Elizabeth, Countess of Devonshire* (Burghley House)



In the last act of the opera, indeed, poor Shaftesbury is drawn along, 'a long, lean pale face with fiend's wings, and snakes twisted round his body; he is encompassed by several fanatical rebellious heads, who suck poison from him, which runs out of a tap in his side': an understandably unfeeling allusion to Shaftesbury's agonizing end.

Only the very grandest patron with a private *palazzo* and large vacant areas on wall and ceiling, or a civic or religious body planning a large public building, could afford to commission such schemes from a decorative painter or to exploit another form of baroque art that was being imported into England: the large sculptured group or allegorical design, free-standing or applied to a façade. Cibber's relief on the Monument is, iconographically, the counterpart in sculpture to Verrio's ceilings. Of course, in these big decorative schemes, whether in stone or paint, the actual portrait was not so important as the rôle in which the hero was cast. Only a baroque artist of Rubens' skill and experience could make Marie de' Medicis or James II at once recognizable and heroic. Verrio in fact succeeded in 1685 to Lely's post at court and had some reputation as a portrait-painter, but the portraits in his decorative schemes are very uninteresting. His first picture for the Crown may have been the *Sea-Triumph of Charles II* at Hampton Court, an elaborately conventional allegory of the signing of the Treaty of Westminster in 1674. The portrait of the King was perhaps a marine equivalent to the statue of the King on a fountain by Cibber in Soho Square, which must have been inspired by Bernini; or to the large figure by Bushnell, made for the Royal Exchange and in place by 1671. Bushnell, like Cibber, had received some foreign training and this statue is a dramatic, ambitious, but rather unconvincing attempt to portray the King in an international baroque idiom. It serves, moreover, to demonstrate the quality of the finest statue of the period, James II in bronze, normally associated with Gibbons, but perhaps designed by Quellin.

Verrio's portrait, in his *Sea-Triumph*, may have been drawn from a miniature by Samuel Cooper. No two artists could be more radically unlike. Samuel Cooper had endued with a new vitality these magical small portraits at a time when their purpose seems slightly to be changing. They had retained their significance as small, intimate and conveniently portable likenesses which they had had in the time of Queen Elizabeth. They were still given away by sovereigns as official presents, often in specially made, elaborately jewelled, cases. Nor had the miniature lost its more tender significance as a token to be exchanged between lovers. In 1654 Dorothy Osborne wrote to William Temple: 'I . . . cannot possibly get a Picture drawne for you till I com up againe. . . . I could never finde my face in a condition to admitt on't . . . but Ime affrayde as you say that time will not mend it and therefore you shall have it as it is, as soone as Mr. Cooper will vouchsafe to take the pain's to draw it for you.'<sup>10</sup> When John Evelyn wished to send his young wife his portrait, with its studied call to repentance, with the *Instructions* he had written for her on the ethics of marriage, he had at first intended it should be a miniature.<sup>11</sup> In a more flippant context: 'Prithee kiss her', Lady Squeamish bids Horner in *The Country Wife*, 'and I'll give you her picture in little that you admired so last night.'

But miniatures were now being collected as works of art. Charles I had assembled a superb cabinet of nearly eighty miniatures, of which practically all were portraits; James II owned some twenty limnings which were grafted on to the remains of his father's collection; the nucleus of the great collection at Welbeck was probably already in existence; and by the end of the century James Sotheby was ordering little walnut-tree cabinets, with gilt locks and hinges and lined with green velvet, for a small collection of miniatures.

Samuel Cooper, whose *James II* Sotheby bought for £21 in 1711, was by far the greatest English painter in the period between the decline of Nicholas Hilliard and the rise of Hogarth. To the intensity which the miniature had inherited from the portrait-medal, to the technical brilliance and purity which had been developed by Holbein, Hilliard, the Olivers and Cooper's own uncle and teacher John Hoskins, Cooper added a breadth of conception and corresponding freshness and vigour of touch which is demonstrated most effectively in the way in which his works can be enlarged on the lecturer's screen. This baroque infusion into the miniature's tiny mould is probably due to Van Dyck. Cooper copied Van Dyck in his youth and his earliest miniatures, like Lely's early English pieces, are clearly inspired by Van Dyck. His *Countess of Devonshire* (Figure 10) of 1642 at Burghley could be compared with Van Dyck's portrait of her, among the portraits painted for Northumberland which Lely had obviously so much admired: indeed, as with Lely, a not very successful attempt to reach the sophistication and precarious balance of such a late piece by Van Dyck may have been the cause of the rather hesitant air of Cooper's little likeness. Any such signs of immaturity he soon outgrew; already his magnificent technique was fully developed; and his lovely sense of colour and unerring feeling for tone never deserted him. To the student of the seventeenth century Cooper's fascination lies, I feel, in his never-failing ability to bring us face to face with English men and women (Figures 11, 13) of those lively and distracted times. He seems to have been incapable of a shallow image; in all his portraits he sets a character before us in the round with all its quirks and failings, its eccentricities, its hopes and fears and dignity. The portrait is at once spontaneous and permanent, recording for ever and in terms we at once understand, if we apply to their study a fraction of the concentration which went into their creation, the passions and emotions of a vanished age.

He also exposes the mannerism of a fashionable painter such as Lely. In the Commonwealth we sometimes find the same gravity in a miniature by Cooper that we find on a larger scale, and more obviously in two dimensions, in a canvas by Lely. And the form of Cooper's miniatures often comes very close to Lely at this time. In 1650 Robert Dormer paid Cooper £12 for his miniature and he must have sat at almost the same time to Lely, who was only asking £5 at this period for a head and shoulders portrait. The two portraits are very close in design. Lely's canvas is a finely painted decorative piece that would grace any room, but we can see how he has refined and elongated the face and thereby blurred the true impact of the sitter's personality upon us; Cooper shows us a plainer, less swaggering character, bony, thoughtful and rather sad, the head of an entirely different shape, tilted slightly forward and not so arrogantly poised as it is within Lely's painted



FIGURE 11. Samuel Cooper. *Hugh May* (Reproduced by gracious permission of H.M. The Queen)



FIGURE 12. Abraham Simon. *Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon*. (British Museum)



FIGURE 13. Samuel Cooper. *Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans* (The Mauritshuis)

oval. The only painter 'in large' whose portraits have something of Cooper's grave melancholy is Gerard Soest (Figure 14). The introspective, silent air of Cooper and Soest reminds one forcibly of Terborch.

In their different ways, Cooper and Lely breathed more freely in the warming air of the Restoration. Lely's canvases show a new blaze of colour and a riotous, but well-controlled, display of baroque accessories. His *Duchess of York* in Edinburgh is an epitome of this exuberant phase in his career: sensuous in texture, and painted in a brilliant key of gold, bright blue, fawns, greys, browns and whites. But Lely was sometimes inspired, with a congenial sitter, to restrain, or concentrate, his great powers and combine with his accustomed ease an unexpected intensity. *Sir William Temple*, however, is a rare piece in Lely's oeuvre and the stifling atmosphere of the Restoration court is epitomized in the supercilious features of his *2nd Earl of Sunderland*. Of this atmosphere Lely is an essential part:

In Days of Ease, when now the weary Sword  
Was sheath'd, and *Luxury* with *Charles* restor'd;  
In every Taste of foreign *Courts* improv'd,  
All, by the King's Example, liv'd and lov'd. . . .

Then Marble soften'd into life grew warm,  
And yielding Metal flow'd to human form:  
Lely on animated Canvas stole  
The sleepy Eye, that spoke the melting soul.  
No wonder then, when all was Love and Sport,  
The willing Muses were debauch'd at Court;<sup>12</sup>

Lely was not in this mood really very interested in the soul. Indeed there is no more revealing commentary on the tastes and amorality of the depraved coterie gathered round the King than the portraits of the King's mistresses as Magdalens or Madonnas or of his offspring as Saints. These are much more distasteful than the uninhibited portraits by Lely, Gascars and Verelst of the King's mistresses without any clothes on. The most famous of these was probably the portrait of Nell Gwynn, which Lely painted for the King under his patron's interested gaze and which was hung at Whitehall discreetly concealed by a 'sliding piece' by Danckerts. It was surely of such pictures, of Lely's *Barbara Villiers* (Figure 15) or of Verelst's *Nell Gwynn*, that Dryden was thinking when he wrote:

*Misses* there were, but modestly conceal'd;  
*Whitehall* the naked *Venus* first reveal'd,  
Who standing as at *Cyprus* in her Shrine,  
The Strumpet was ador'd with Rites Divine.<sup>13</sup>

It was for patrons such as the Duchess of York and Lord Sunderland that Lely produced the court beauties that have done so much to mar his reputation: some of the most unashamedly sensual, as well as the most brilliantly decorative, portraits ever painted. With their superb colour and vibrant handling, in their boldly carved and gilded baroque frames, they must have been one of the most vivid forms of Restoration interior decoration. The most familiar set, the *Windsor Beauties* commissioned by the Duchess of York, was hanging in 1674 in the White Room at Whitehall, 'Hunge w<sup>th</sup> white sarsanett, and over it blew Mohair with silk fringe'; below the pictures, like predella panels, hung a series of little canvases by Schiavone.



FIGURE 14. Gerard Soest. *Mr. Tipping* (Sir Anthony Cope, Bt.)



FIGURE 15. Sir Peter Lely. *Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland* (Chiddingstone Castle)

Sunderland secured portraits of the influential and wanton creatures to whom he had paid court. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was told in 1667 that they made *una collezione miracolosa per adornare una stanza con ricche cornici indorate*; and two years later commissioned such a series of portraits for himself. This cult of the portrait of the face and shape of the great beauties of the day would perhaps have reached its climax in a project of which the only evidence is in a report to the Grand Duke from London in 1668 by Lorenzo Magalotti. Writing of Lely he says: 'the king commissioned from him a most beautiful picture, of an Arcadian scene, where, in the guise of nymphs, would be painted, on the scale of life, the most beautiful ladies of the English court. I have seen the sketch and it is very beautiful. Lady Castlemaine did not wish to appear in this, saying that she would feel hopelessly entangled without a single man among so many women.'<sup>14</sup> But it is a cult which we can trace in the formation of many collections, though perhaps in none so clearly as in the Grand Duke's collections in Tuscany. The Grand Duke and the Duke of York also wished to have portraits of some of the most famous men of action of the day. Portraits of Prince Rupert, Monck and Lord Ossory went from London to join the Grand Duke's collection of *Condottieri più famosi sul mare*, and some of Lely's most deeply-felt portraits are to be found in the series he painted for the Duke of York of the flag-officers who had fought under him in the victory off Lowestoft on 3rd June, 1665. I think it is not impossible that Michael Wright's portraits of young men in armour in the early 1660s are the germ of a comparable, and presumably military, series.

Wright and Lely were the only two painters 'in large' whom the Grand Duke had met in London in 1669, but the only artist to whom he sat, in his studio in Henrietta Street, was Cooper, the *picinetto tutto spirito e cortesia*. After Cooper's death he tried to secure works left in his studio, and succeeded in getting for his collection two miniatures of the most beautiful women in England. Cooper seems to have been, in foreign as well as English minds, the most famous English artist of his day: 'the prince of limners of this age', 'the greates, (tho' little) limner, the . . . famous Mr. Cooper', for miniatures 'esteemed the best artist in Europe', 'his *Talent* . . . so extraordinary that . . . he was (at least) equal to the most famous *Italians*'. Among the pictures in his widow's possession, which the Grand Duke wished to acquire, were the large unfinished heads which are, certainly in modern eyes, his most remarkable achievements. Some of them were fortunately bought by Charles II. They show the painterliness of his style and the freshness of his approach unspoiled by years of success. Seeing them Pepys remarked 'the painting is so extraordinary, as I do never expect to see the like again'.

If one could compile a census of portraits made in England under the Stuarts it would show a steady increase, as the seventeenth century drew to its close, in the number of portraits produced year by year. The steadiest demand came of course from patrons whose portraits in marble or stone were being set up in church or cathedral, or who were adding portraits of themselves and their family to an inherited collection, or celebrating their rise in the social scale by beginning such a collection. You will think of innumerable country houses where the generations who flourished under the later Stuarts hang near their forbears and descendants

(Woburn or Althorp are classic examples) or where (as at Ham or Kingston Lacy) the beginnings of a family's greatness or prosperity can be demonstrated in a blaze of Restoration portraiture; and of galleries of tombs, such as those at Bottesford or Exton, where a family's achievements and inspirations are more poignantly set down. This dynastic enthusiasm was very strong among English patrons. The second Earl of Peterborough, a man with an immense pride of race, designed the King's Dining Room at Drayton to contain full lengths of his ancestors and in some of his lesser rooms placed pseudo-medieval warriors of the Mordaunt family. At Belvoir the ninth Earl of Rutland commissioned, probably from Lely's pupil Jan van der Eyden, a set of Earls: the more distant look very unhappy in the conventions of the 1670s. And Ralph Montagu ordered for Boughton a dubious painted pedigree and a consoling set of imaginary medieval Montagus.

At the same time the City of London, the Universities, Oxford and Cambridge Colleges, the Livery Companies, the Inns of Court, learned and medical societies, Deaneries and Bishops' palaces, were gradually putting together portraits of their great men. The principal interest in the growth of these collections is that it will sometimes bring briefly to life a painter or craftsman whose name would otherwise lie immured in the records of the Painter-Stainers Company; but the personal interest in these collections, in, for instance, the gatherings of portraits in the Royal Society or the Royal College of Physicians, gives them a special importance.

Perhaps more interesting is the development in this period of the private historical portrait gallery, where a great man assembled the images of his friends and of his famous contemporaries and political associates. Sir Harbottle Grimston, Master of the Rolls, assembled at Gorhambury a set of portraits of the great men of his time; the Earl of Arlington had at Euston 'a good staircase full of good pictures' and a long gallery hung with full lengths of the Tudor and Stuart dynasties, foreign princes, 'outlandish pictures of Heroes' and fine modern royal and family portraits; in Scotland the Duke of Rothes assembled at Leslie House portraits, of negligible artistic, but very great historical, interest, of his associates in the Stuart despotism in Scotland. But much the most important of such collections was that formed by the Earl of Clarendon, in his grand new house in Piccadilly, of likenesses of the great men of his earlier days and of the friends of his prime. It was, in the field of historical writing, the age of the carefully wrought literary portrait by Burnet, Halifax or Clarendon himself, or from the keener pen of Dryden; Clarendon himself said, 'the preservation of the fame and merit of persons, and deriving the same to posterity, is no less the business of history than the truth of things', and his gallery would have been the essential commentary on his *History*. At dinner with Clarendon's son, Lord Cornbury, on 20th December, 1668, Evelyn noticed the brave furnishings of the house, 'especially . . . the Pictures', and he gave Clarendon a list of English scholars, statesmen and soldiers whose portraits might be added to the collection. Twenty years later, in a justly famous letter to Pepys, he recalled the old Chancellor's 'purpose to furnish all the roomes of state and other apartments with the pictures of the most illustrious of our nation, especially of his Lo<sup>ps</sup> time & acquaintance, & of divers before it': the series of full lengths, the lawyers in the room where he listened to causes, and the men of letters who



looked down on the Earl as he dined in public. Of course in his halcyon days of power, many were pleased to give portraits to his collection, but those that he commissioned from Lely must have set him a special problem. Lely did what he could to produce respectable images of Jacobean worthies and painted, with help from his studio, a distinguished set of sober contemporary portraits. That of Waller is a good example: a conscientious design, probably finished by an assistant but containing a sound, honest head by Lely himself.<sup>15</sup>

The importance of the Clarendon collection to iconographical studies in this country can hardly be over-estimated. Jonathan Richardson first put into eloquent terms the value of a portrait by Van Dyck in front of the reader of a 'character' in Clarendon; but Evelyn's writings contain copious references to this theme: 'how would such a Collection . . . whether to be procured in Painting or Stamp . . . conduce to the Spirit of History and Satisfaction of the Studious Readers of Lives and Actions?' And he shows the keenest interest in physiognomy, in that intense reading of a character in a face which must have stimulated his contemporaries' delight in Samuel Cooper and which should surely be a prerequisite of every biographer.

Let him that would write and Read the History of the . . . late Usurper *Cromwell*, but seriously contemplate the Falls, and Lines of his ambiguous and double Face . . . to read in it, without other Comment, Characters of the greatest Dissimulation, Boldness, Cruelty, Ambition in every touch and stroak.

Or of Thomas Hobbes:

Those who remember Mr. *Hobbs*, as I perfectly do (and whose Pictures are perfectly like him) might discover in his very looks, a supercilious, Saturnine *Opiniatrety*, pleased with himself.<sup>16</sup>

The National Portrait Gallery is the ultimate outcome of this, perhaps particularly English, preoccupation with the famous face.

Evelyn's letter to Pepys about Clarendon's portraits was prompted by his friend's desire for a portrait of the author of *Sylva* for his library. The portrait, eminently successful and appropriate, was painted by Kneller, who seems to have helped Pepys to evolve a special form of portrait of 'men illustrious for their parts and erudition' to be placed above the bookcases of a Library: an idea developed on a much more extensive scale for Bishop Ken's library at Longleat and, in form, not unrelated to Kneller's later portraits for the Kit-kat Club. A more intimate air may have pervaded Poets' Parlour at Knole, where the Earl of Dorset sat surrounded by the writers who owed so much to his discerning munificence.

It is difficult to envisage how a late seventeenth-century English house looked with its portraits newly hung. Advice was given to gentlemen by such writers as William Sanderson on the best way of displaying your collection. The new family portraits done by John Riley for Sir John Brownlow can still be seen in the magnificent Saloon at Belton; Wissing's Arcadian portraits of little Lord Burghley and his brother William are still in their fine original carved frames over the fireplaces in the Fifth Room in his father's new state rooms and in his mother's bedchamber at Burghley. In the galleries at Ham and Althorp one still gets an impression of the original arrangement of an old English portrait gallery: at Ham

almost unchanged since the time of the Duke of Lauderdale; at Althorp still hung with Sunderland's superbly gay portraits. In both rooms one realizes the splendid suitability of the contemporary 'Sunderland' frame.

More intimate portraits were kept in the smaller Closets or Cabinets. The Duke of Lauderdale's Green Closet at Ham, now known as the Miniature Room, gives a very good impression of the close-packed arrangement of little pictures in this kind of room, including portraits in miniature or pastel. The portrait in pastel or plumbago was enjoying a new vogue and was perfectly suited for the formation of a little, very personal group of family portraits, sometimes done by a talented member of the family. The pastel portrait was developed professionally by Lutterell and Edmund Ashfield, whose portrait of Lauderdale is still, with David Paton's plumbagos of his relations, in his Green Closet. Lely and his assistants had worked in this medium and the most interesting pastels are those done by Lely's most promising pupil, the English John Greenhill. He specialized in portraits of actors in costume and seems to have done a number of these for Betterton. At their best these small portraits give us, like the miniatures, a charming, slightly provincial glimpse of a seventeenth-century personality.

Two other forms of small portrait should not be forgotten: the engraving and the medal. There was a considerable increase in the output of prints in this country under the later Stuarts, and the development of the mezzotint enabled collectors to secure more attractive reproductions of contemporary portraits than the earlier line engravers had been able to produce. Engravings of contemporary portraits by a London painter such as Lely helped to disseminate his patterns in the provinces where they were eagerly adapted by much less accomplished painters. And if you wished to imitate the historical portrait galleries, of which we have been speaking, and had not Lord Clarendon's resources, you could do so admirably and very fully with prints. 'I should not advise a solicitous expense of having the pictures of so many greate persons painted in oyle, which were a vast & unnecessary charge. . . . But if . . . you think fit to add . . . the heads & effigies . . . in *taille douce*, and with very tolerable expense to be procur'd amongst the print-sellers . . . you would be infinitely delighted with the assembly.'<sup>17</sup> And it is Evelyn again who emphasized the importance of the portrait-medal, its permanence ('in more lasting Matter than painted Cloth') its historical significance and its honoured traditions.<sup>18</sup> Recently the English portrait-medals seem to have been oddly neglected, by historian and iconographer alike, but in the later seventeenth century the output, and sometimes the quality, of these pieces was almost comparable with the highly organized medalllic record of the greatness and career of Louis XIV. The medals of Abraham and Thomas Simon have something of Cooper's discernment and truth. Apart from the freshness of the profile image, no painted portrait brings Lord Southampton so vividly before us as the Simons did in 1664; and the whole of Clarendon's personal tragedy seems implicit in Abraham Simon's silver medal of 1662 (Figure 12). Jan Roettier's larger medals of court beauties are an interesting counterpart to the more familiar portraits in oil. Even more vital as a portrait-form is, of course, the sculptured bust. At this period it was reserved almost entirely for the tomb, and it was not until the age

of Rysbrack that it became a popular form of independent image. Edward Pierce had, however, made busts of Cromwell and Milton. We do not know for what purpose it was made, but his bust of Wren is among the finest English portraits of the century, one of the most brilliantly successful English adaptations of the baroque manner, and the most satisfying portrait of one of the greatest minds of the age—shrewd, kindly and incredibly intelligent.

Much of what we have seen this afternoon has been of a very courtly and aristocratic flavour, but there may sometimes have been, even in the most illustrious circles, a reaction, perhaps for political as well as personal reasons, against the full court-style. We have seen something of the magnificent tastes of some members of the Cabal Ministry: Arlington with his splendid sets of portraits, Lauderdale with his sumptuously framed Lelys; and there was Buckingham with his frivolous Frenchified taste for the exotic and fantastic. Arlington, Lauderdale and Clifford likewise patronized the Dutch artists who were coming over to England in increasing numbers. It is surely significant that their colleague Shaftesbury eschewed the foreign tastes of his colleagues, never sat to Lely, and had himself painted by the English Greenhill who came from his own part of the country. There were painters of great merit, such as Soest, who never seem to have achieved a royal commission or success at court. And there were, of course, a host of painters working in the provinces. Often their work shows ill-digested derivation from their more successful contemporaries in the capital; often one sympathizes with Francis Tallents, who felt his friend John Percivall in his portrait 'so starched . . . in such pain, and without the freedom and gallantry in which his friends delight';<sup>10</sup> but also one is often charmed by the unspoiled freshness of their vision. One could not wish anyone else than Thomas Sadler to have recorded the features of Bunyan. The amateur portrait painter is of more social than artistic significance: one can delight in Dryden's famous Ode to Anne Killigrew—'Thou youngest Virgin-Daughter of the Skies'—but can hardly agree that, in her portrait of James II, 'His Warlike Mind, his Soul devoid of Fear, His High-Designing Thoughts were figur'd there'.

Portraits of a humbler kind are, of course, very rare indeed. Riley's *Scullion* at Christ Church, possibly the head in his *Bridget Holmes* at Windsor, a farm labourer at Clandon who may be by Francis Barlow, are perhaps the nearest we shall get in the seventeenth century to the mood of Hogarth's servants. Tilborch's *Tichborne Dole* is a unique record of the occupants of an English country parish, from the grandest to the poorest; and in a drawing by Barlow or a view by Siberechts we may catch a glimpse of a rustic English face. In the scenes in Quaker meeting houses by Egbert van Heemskerck or, above all, in his *Oxford Election* of 1687 we do meet humble folk; but they seem to have been painted for patrons of some standing and they have a satirical and self-consciously comic air which foreshadows John Leech as well as Hogarth. Only rarely does a painter break through the formalities of his period. Few painters achieved the intimate tenderness we find in Soest's strange portrait of a woman, probably his wife, with an outside infant at her breast. But the greater freedom and realism with which tombs were being designed gave sculptors scope to appeal more strongly to our

emotions. Perhaps they are wrung most profoundly by Cibber in his monument at Withyham (1677) to the fifteen-year-old son of the Earl and Countess of Dorset, whose dignity in their grief is deeply moving.

The two principal trends in portrait-painting at the close of our period are clearly seen in the career of Lely's fabulously successful rival, the German Godfrey Kneller. On the one hand, there is the smart fashionable portraiture in the reign of James II and in the early years of William III that derives from Lely's style in his last years: decorative, dried-out, very elegantly posed and prettily tricked out with the accessories Van Dyck had long ago brought to England. In Lely's hands this is still a very competent style. With his most successful pupil, Willem Wissing, the light becomes harsher and the texture more steely. The mannerisms of this style are also to be found in the figure sculpture of Lely's friend Grinling Gibbons: his most startling work, the Campden tomb at Exton (1686) contains a number of figure designs drawn from Lely's repertory. John Riley accepted these mannerisms unhesitatingly for his most formal portraits; but in his smaller pieces we are aware of a truly English character, of the lineal descent, through Richardson and Hudson, from Riley to Sir Joshua Reynolds, and of Evelyn's strictures on 'our English paynters, . . . who seldom arrive to any further excellency in the art than face painting'. But by now Kneller was shaking off the hesitancies of his early portraits and was developing from the lessons he had learnt from Lely an assurance and variety in dealing with the full-length form that had not been seen in London since the death of Van Dyck. 'Some other Hand perhaps may reach a Face; But none like thee a finish'd Figure place.'<sup>20</sup> That is exaggerated, but indicates that Kneller's contemporaries recognized this variety, and liked, in place of Lely's oppressive insouciance, the lively glance, the energy and swinging thrusts of Kneller's new designs.

Lely had fundamentally been content to use the conventions and patterns that he found established here and which he owed to Van Dyck, and even to Cornelius Johnson and Daniel Mytens. But Kneller seems, in the 1680s, to have broken new ground; and in a handful of early masterpieces he brings us face to face with a sitter as Lely never tried to do, or casts aside the mannerisms of which some of his patrons may have been heartily sick, and paints a sitter in an easy informality which looks forward to Reynolds (Figure 16). He probably ennobled his sitters: 'Sir Godfrey', a handsome Duke once said to him, 'every Body tells me, the Picture you have drawn for me is extremely like, and yet, methinks, when I view myself and that together in the Glass, I appear like a meer *Poltroon* to it.'<sup>21</sup> Lely had been repeatedly accused of being unable to get a likeness: a patron wrote in 1676 of 'Mr. Lilie's fault towards all men in wronging by making blacker, older, and moroser in his draughts then they are', and Dryden wrote in 1685 of the 'late noble Painter', who 'drew many graceful Pictures, but few of them . . . were like . . . because he always studied himself more than those who sat to him'.<sup>22</sup> One feels a keener, less subjective approach to the sitter in these spare early portraits by Kneller. One can hardly accept the devoted tribute of Lovelace that 'th'amazed world' would find that only 'my *Lilly* ever drew a *Minde*', but one sees what Dryden meant in claiming for Kneller: 'At least thy Pictures look a



FIGURE 16. Sir Godfrey Kneller. *Charles Sackville, 6th Earl of Dorset (Knole)*

Voice; and we Imagine Sounds, deceiv'd to that degree, we think 'tis somewhat more than just to see.<sup>123</sup>

In the closing lines of this *Epistle* Dryden strikes a theme on which the variations are played throughout the history of British painting and taste, the shackling of a painter's ability by the limitations that contemporary taste will impose on him:

Thy Genius, bounded by the Times, like mine,  
Drudges on petty Draughts, nor dare design  
A more exalted Work, and more divine.

Van Dyck seems to have tried to escape from the enervating routine of a fashionable portrait-practice to paint the history of the Garter; Lely may have contemplated reviving the idea. But patrons do not seem to have taken up Evelyn's suggestions that recent English history was full of noble themes for a painter, 'instead of Idle *Metamorphoses*, and other Fictions and fruitless stories' which they really preferred on their walls. Oddly enough it was Verrio, a specialist in fruitless stories, who painted the largest piece dealing with contemporary history in the vast group of the presentation by Charles II of the charter of the mathematical school at Christ's Hospital. The '*Anabasia at Torbay*', which brings to an end the Restoration

period in the arts in England, had to wait until the reign of George I for the treatment, in the Painted Hall, which Evelyn would have wished for it.

I have found the greatest difficulty, in putting this lecture together, in trying to set before you the particular characteristics of Restoration portraiture. Perhaps this is because the period lacks variety. It certainly lacks a central point such as we find in the earlier period in the revolution wrought by Van Dyck; and it can never have the appeal of the golden age of British painting in the next century. But our understanding of the age of Van Dyck or Reynolds can never be complete without an awareness of what comes between. I have tried this afternoon to show you some of the trends to look for in the Restoration portrait, something of what a patron required of his painter, and thus of the limitations under which the painter worked. We must, after all, take our material as we find it, and, if we are art-historians, try to help the historian by showing how honestly or with what reserves men and women of the age of Charles II allowed their painters to set down the image they saw reflected in their splendid mirrors of silver, or their humbler ones of walnut.

## REFERENCES

1. British Museum, Egerton MS. 1636, f. 102.
2. Lely's sale catalogue is printed in the *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. LXXXIII (1943), pp. 185-91.
3. Lord Massareene to Sir Richard Newdegate, 6th August, 1679 (Arbury MSS.).
4. Henry More to Lady Conway, 29th May, 1671 (*Conway Letters*, ed. M. Hope Nicolson (1930), pp. 333-4).
5. *Hooke Diary*, ed. H. W. Robinson and W. Adams (1935), p. 204.
6. Jonathan Richardson, *Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715), p. 228.
7. T. Hearne, *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, ed. Bliss (1896), Vol. II, pp. 17-20.
8. Dryden, Prologue and Epilogue, spoken at the opening of the New House, 26th March, 1674.
9. J. Wilson, *Roger North on Music* (1959), p. 124.
10. Dorothy Osborne's *Letters*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith (1928), pp. 166-7.
11. Letter quoted in W. G. Hiscock, *John Evelyn and his Family Circle* (1955), pp. 20-1.
12. Alexander Pope, *Imitation of the First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace* (1737).
13. Dryden, Epilogue on the occasion of his benefit, 25th March, 1700.
14. See A. M. Crinò and O. Millar, 'Sir Peter Lely and the Grand Duke of Tuscany', *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. C (1958), pp. 124-30, and A. M. Crinò, *Fatti e Figure . . .* (1957), p. 165.
15. The references to Evelyn's more important accounts of the Clarendon collection are given in his *Diary*, ed. E. S. de Beer (1955), Vol. III, p. 520.
16. J. Evelyn, *Numismata* (1697), pp. 339-41.
17. *Ibid.*, *Diary and Correspondence*, ed. W. Bray (1852), Vol. III, pp. 303-4.
18. *Numismata*, p. 161.
19. H. M. C., *Egmont MSS.*, Vol. I (1905), p. 491.
20. Dryden, *To Sir Godfrey Kneller* (1694).
21. Quoted in G. Bickham, *Deliciae Britannicae*, 2nd ed., p. 69.
22. Lady Chaworth to Lord Roos, 19th April, 1676 (H.M.C., *Rutland MSS.*, Vol. II (1889), p. 27); Dryden, Preface to *Sylvae*, or the second part of *Poetical Miscellanies* (1685).
23. Dryden, *To Sir Godfrey Kneller*.

THE CHAIRMAN: On behalf of us all I should like to thank Mr. Oliver Millar for coming here to-day and giving us such a very explicit and thoughtful talk on this most interesting subject, and one which, as I said earlier, is so much to the fore at the moment. One appreciates the amount of study and thought it has taken to work up and polish a lecture of this sort, and illustrate it so admirably with slides and quotations—half of which I wish I could remember! Though they have all been delivered by distinguished people I don't think any past Fred Cook Lecture has been more interesting than the one we have heard to-day.

The vote of thanks to the Lecturer was carried with acclamation, and the meeting then ended.

# ARCHITECTURE IN TRANSPORT

*The Alfred Bossom Lecture by*

*F. F. C. CURTIS, Dr. Ing., A.R.I.B.A.,*

*Architect to the British Transport Commission, delivered  
to the Society on Wednesday, 25th January, 1961, with  
The Rt. Honble. Lord Bossom, LL.D., F.R.I.B.A., J.P.,  
a Vice-President of the Society, in the Chair*

THE CHAIRMAN: As I was coming here tonight I counted all the cars which passed me, and their passengers. Four out of every seven cars contained only one person, and I was delayed all the way along by the congestion. People want to get into built-up areas more than they ever did; hence we have skyscrapers. Then when we get the skyscrapers, the people coming into them and out of them cause that congestion which we cannot escape. This is one of the headaches Dr. Curtis has to try and straighten out; he will now tell you how he has seen it working.

*The following lecture, which was illustrated with lantern slides, was then delivered.*

## THE LECTURE

Perhaps more than in any previous age, transport, in all its various forms, has an impact on architecture.

The world of to-day contains very few inaccessible places, and countries hardly known to our forefathers are now served around the clock by the great international land, air and sea transport organizations. People who, in past ages, would never have moved out of their parish, to-day travel abroad for their holidays, or at least think nothing of covering long distances in their own country by train, 'bus or private car.

The visible scene, in town and country, is dominated to a considerable extent by the structures, installations and equipment connected with transport, and nearly all our buildings contain, if only in the shape of a garage, some transport element.

In fact, transport, especially by motor car, has become one of the dominant factors in our personal lives, to such an extent that, very soon, we shall have to make a real effort to tame this monster if we want to secure conditions of existence which make a civilized life possible; if we are to provide for ample space where we can have peace and quiet and freedom from haste, noise, smell and the danger of being knocked down. Perhaps an even greater danger is that of becoming so conditioned to the noise, ugliness and hazards of the milling-about age that we will no longer be able to notice that anything is wrong and finally become the victims of what we have created.

This may seem a pessimistic approach to the theme of this talk, especially by someone who has for some considerable time been an architect in the service of transport. However, 'taming the monster' is one of the most difficult tasks facing all those connected with transport in any capacity, including architects, and the first step in that direction is to recognize that there is a monster.



The art of architecture is concerned with providing a civilized physical background to human activities while, like all the arts, transcending the fulfilment of purely functional needs. To achieve this end, those engaged in it must face reality, even its unpleasing aspects—especially those—if they honestly desire to produce something that can be called architecture.

Those who fail in an examination normally do so because they have not read the questions carefully enough. Much the same thing is the cause of many other human failures, including those experienced by architects.

If I may repeat the same thing as a more positive statement: the achievement of good architecture depends on the lucidity with which the architect perceives the problems he is expected to solve, and the first requirement, besides an open mind, is the ability to see. (I hasten to say that he is by no means alone in that need.) I particularly stress the desirability of keen observation because we live in an age when too many impressions reach the mind through the printed or spoken word and—with so many writers and speakers about—there is hardly anything left which has not already been described or commented on. The great temptation is therefore not to look oneself but to accept someone else's opinion.

One of the more startling discoveries in recent years was that of 'subtopia'. You will remember that a large proportion of the horrors of 'subtopia' are items of equipment connected with transport. It is true that for many years the design of individual items of such equipment has been discussed and sometimes improved, but it was left to Ian Nairn to point out that the worst feature of our urban or rural landscape is the uncoordinated mess of a variety of items, even where some individual items are good in themselves. For many people who have had this mess before them for decades without noticing it this was a real 'eye-opener' and no doubt the support given to the admirable exercises in urban uplift at Norwich, Burslem and other places which were and are being undertaken by the Civic Trust owes much to Ian Nairn's agitation.

I should like to mention here two personal experiences. The first occurred when, following the criticism by a Member of Parliament of a new signal box, I was one of those who inspected that building (which, incidentally, is a very appropriate solution of a particular design problem), and we observed that the real blot on the landscape was the multiplicity of different types of electric overhead equipment, most of it well designed, but somewhat arbitrarily placed on the ground. In consequence, the signal box was left unaltered, but it was agreed that in future an architect should accompany the engineers during the first walk-about survey and have a say in the arrangement and choice of types of overhead frames as the work on railway electrification proceeded.

The other experience was at Salzburg in Austria, where I looked down on the city from the castle and became more and more aware that its beautiful buildings seemed merely to be the side walls of a huge irregular container filled almost solid with stationary or slow-moving tin boxes of many shapes, sizes and colours. I wondered what Salzburg's builders would have thought had they been able to see this invasion of chaos into a civilized urban setting.

Of course, this Salzburg experience can be had in Edinburgh or Bath or York,

but how often are we aware of the ugly maggots that crawl over the once beautiful faces of our cities? Don't we, most of the time, accept the undignified contest between man and machine (especially the other fellow's machine) which takes place on our roads?

It is necessary to remind oneself over and over again that man has it in his power to control the machines he has made.

In these congested isles, the problem of coping with modern transport is made especially difficult because its space requirements are so enormous in relation to the total space available, and so is the cost of any measures to confine it. Yet, the failure to channel all kinds of traffic into the smallest possible space would also lead to failure in the provision of space where people can live a dignified life.

The horizontal spread of car parks, for instance, is a luxury we cannot indulge in, and I reckon the time is not far off when a ring of multi-storey car parks will surround each one of our cities and become a typical feature of our townscape, like the watch towers around the cities in the Middle Ages. Here is a challenge to architects, if only because of the very triviality of the structures concerned: storage sheds for motor cars, with access ramps and a few ancillaries. Nothing, it would seem, to fire the imagination—and a tough economical problem, if car owners are to be enabled to afford the price of using these facilities. However, this challenge has already been met here and there, and there is no reason why this girdle of car towers should not be an adornment to cities. They would certainly be an improvement on kerb-side parking.

It has been said recently that the motorway installations, clover-leaf and fly-over crossings and the parking areas provided for the conurbation of Los Angeles take up about as much space as the whole of East Anglia. This is probably an exaggeration, but if we are not prepared to live on rafts, moored around our sea shore, we clearly lack the space for motor-way construction on that scale. We must, however, have far more of it than at present, and one can only hope that what we do will equal in the quality of design these ramps at Cologne and Düsseldorf. It should be noted that it is not only the design of the structure that matters, but the manner in which the pedestrian has not been forgotten and the large ground below has been laid out. This latter area could so easily become a rubbish dump or a juvenile delinquent's jungle.

It is also to be hoped that our roadside cafés and filling stations will compare with the American example shown on the next slide.

There are immense opportunities for architects and engineers to exercise their ingenuity and imagination in the provision of elevated walkways—which have a forerunner in the 'Rows' at Chester—subways, stairs, ramps, bridges and sheltered squares and gardens. The greatest care should be devoted to the sparing use of our limited space. Although our present roads are incapable of accommodating the traffic on them, I am certain that a calculation of all the ground taken up by unused or unusable roadways would produce a staggeringly large acreage.

In the design of buildings it is considered a normal exercise of the designer's skill to avoid wasteful corridors and to plan all the rooms in such a way that they do not contain useless areas, while at the same time avoiding the appearance of

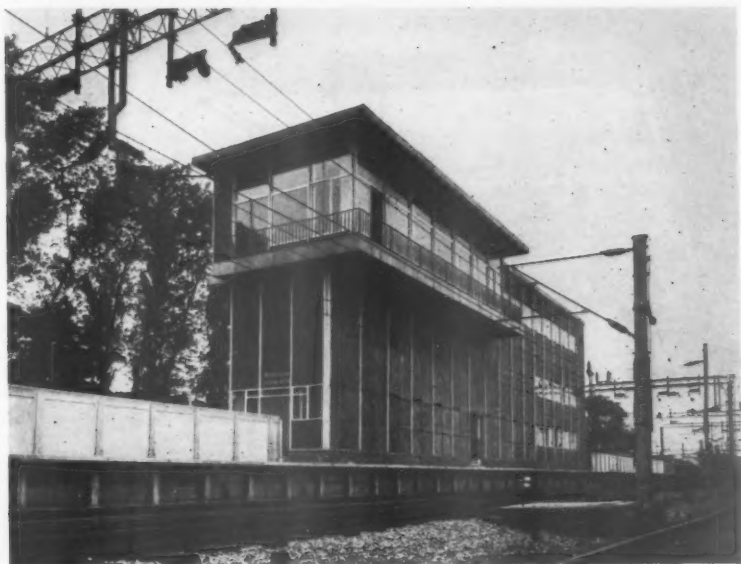


FIGURE 1. *Wilmslow signal box, designed by W. R. Headley. Built 1959*

meanness as a result of economy. The application of the same skill is needed in the planning of roads and car parks, as well as in the planning of whole cities. We have not the space to throw away, we cannot go on losing agricultural land by housing 100 people on an area where 1,000 could live in comfort and with dignity—as well as a little more neighbourly and cosily than the widely dispersed 100—if the planners and designers really exert themselves efficiently and imaginatively.

The channelling and taming of motor transport and the segregation of living space may eventually deliver us from the networks of clotted traffic arteries which cut up our cities into hundreds of almost inaccessible islands, on which deafened fugitives have to seek the amenities of life and try to nurse their frayed nerves before the next plunge into the murderous battle of the roads.

It would rescue architecture from drowning in the turbulent sea of chaotic transport. Equally, it would preserve the countryside from becoming waste land between motorways.

When the railways first came into being, the humanist tradition was still alive. The problems facing the railway pioneers were comparable in their technical complexity to those which we have to face to-day in respect of motorized road transport and air transport. Yet, at any rate during the first two or three decades, these problems were solved in a bold and far-sighted manner and with great



FIGURE 2. *Uxbridge Station hall, designed by Charles Holden. Built 1938*

distinction. True, like all profound changes in the way of life, the change brought about by the introduction of railways resulted in the disturbance of old-established habits and institutions. Nevertheless, the new could stand up to comparison with the old and did not destroy human dignity, revolutionary though it was. Partly, this was of course due to the fact that there was more space for a smaller volume of transport in those days. Moreover, the railways were saved from creating the kind of chaos that road transport causes to-day because they were segregated on their own track. This is symbolized by the Doric portico at Euston, a gateway through which you entered the railway system on your way out of London, or entered London after the journey from Birmingham.

The railway pioneers had to satisfy entirely new requirements and execute works on an enormous scale. The building of the London to Birmingham railway, to mention only one, was a far bigger undertaking than that of the M.I., both in its physical size and in relation to the technical resources available at that time. There was no example to copy in the design of the train hall at Paddington or the workshops at Swindon. And, like the builders of our canals before them, they managed to mould the system into the landscape. They created bridges and viaducts of originality and lasting beauty. The early railway buildings were among the few real masterpieces of architecture in the Victorian era, and modern architecture owes much to their example.

The increasing complexity of life in a country with an ever-growing population, the growing density of traffic, the uncoordinated competition between a multiplicity of railway companies and finally between different kinds of transport, the failure to cope with the human problems as well as with technical ones gradually led to chaos.

The old stations became too small to serve increased needs; excrescences, lean-to's and makeshift additions spoilt some of the finest railway buildings; the approach roads and forecourts became too small to accommodate the feeder traffic, the railway slums came into being and to-day present us with a formidable task of slum clearance.

To pay for this, especially in the case of the large terminal stations, it will be necessary to exploit to the greatest possible extent the opportunities of property development. The terminal stations in London and some big provincial cities occupy positions ideally suited for development. Moreover, they can be developed without adding much to the traffic in congested city streets, since office buildings, flats, shopping centres and exhibition halls over a railway station can be reached direct from the station concourse by people arriving by train.

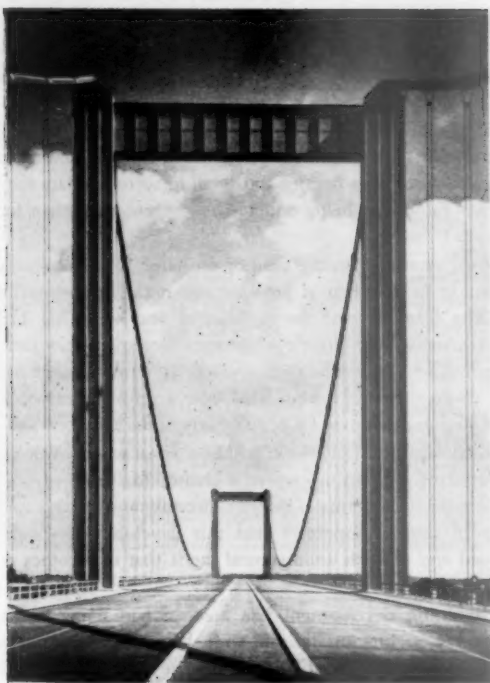
The creation of huge entirely new building sites where hitherto there were only tracks, platforms and sidings offers a chance for some of our new railway stations to become the focal points of fine new urban centres with a variety of human activities. It is, of course, important that this development should be comprehensively planned and of such architectural merit that it becomes an asset to the community.

Commercial building development has made a bad name for itself, because much of it is shoddy, architecturally dull and—being so often undertaken without any knowledge as to who will eventually occupy the buildings—inhuman.

It is also imperative that the stations themselves, being the life-giving elements of these new centres, should be buildings of distinction and not merely holes in the walls of office towers. This is another challenge to cope with monstrous size and a monstrous volume of traffic, of relating such giant complexes of traffic services and buildings to the small units of human beings and their needs.

Perhaps, in the not too distant future, the lid may be taken off the models which have been made of a number of such large development projects in various parts of this country and the public informed of what is to come?

There happened in this country between the railway pioneering days and to-day, another era, when the requirements of transport were met in an adequate and imaginative manner. I refer to the era of Frank Pick and Charles Holden (Figure 2) after the establishment of the London Passenger Transport Board. Their achievement was unique in their day. There was nothing to compare with it anywhere in the world. It is true, they travelled abroad and learned from what they found there. They saw individual achievements of the highest order, but nowhere did or could they find the consistent design policy which was, on their initiative, to emerge in London Transport and become evident in everything from rolling stock to posters, from buildings to escalators and other items of station equipment.



[Copyright Hugo Schmölz, Cologne]

FIGURE 3. *Cologne autobahn suspension bridge, built 1938-41 to the designs of Paul Bonatz (destroyed in the War)*

It was all achieved in a few years, and so unobtrusively, without any cheap gimmicks, that the general public were almost unaware of this revolution in taste and manners and calmly accepted the change, as one gratefully accepts the entry of fresh, clean air into a stuffy room.

Purely in the field of architecture, Holden was more of an innovator than is now generally acknowledged, if one is to judge by some of the obituary notices written when he died last year. The use of an articulate architectural language was perhaps misunderstood as lack of originality.

A similar fate, at the hands of the critics and art historians, has descended upon the German architect, Paul Bonatz, whose railway station in Stuttgart, still mainly intact, was a milestone in the development of railway architecture and whose magnificent bridges for the *autobahnen* (Figure 3) carried out many years later, equally deserve fame, although they are more formalistic in design than those of



FIGURE 4. *The Guentoz bridge, Switzerland, built 1931-3 to the designs of Maillart*

Maillart (Figure 4), an engineer with an architectural sensitivity seldom surpassed by architects.

In some countries of Europe, large new railway stations have been built in recent years without any large-scale commercial development to pay for the cost, although it appears that the proposals for the reconstruction of the only twenty-year old main station in Milan include property development as part of the project. I should now like to show some of the railway stations built during the last 20 years:

1. *Amstel Station, Amsterdam.* Architect: Schelling. Completed, 1940.

A large commuter station in a new and expanding part of the town. Admirable planning on 3 levels, with segregation of various kinds of traffic: railways on top; buses, cars and other road vehicles on the middle level; trams at the lowest level. The high concourse with its glazed side walls is a landmark, visible from a long distance by day and night. It is a beautiful building, sensitively detailed, and the first of a long line of excellent new Dutch stations (Figure 5).

2. *Schiedam Station, near Rotterdam.* Architects: Van der Gaast and Van der Grinten.

One of the most recent commuter stations. An ingenious structural design of an overall roof on four main supports, conditioned by poor sub-soil. All but the most essential elements have been eliminated. It is a truly functional building, but the





FIGURE 5. *Amstel Station, Amsterdam, designed by H. G. J. Schelling. Completed 1940*

beauty of its form makes it, in my view, one of the best examples of modern European architecture.

3. *Roma Termini*. Completed, 1950. Architects: Calini, Castellazzi, Fadigati Montuori, Pintonello, Vitellozzi.

A station worthy of its city and still without rival. Nobody who has ever experienced it will forget the entry into the eternal city from the low-roofed platforms, through the great concourse with its shops and cafés and the promenading Roman crowds, the passage under the administration building and finally, the shimmering glass cage of the booking hall, with the vista into the station square with its fountain ahead and the Etruscan city walls, and the baths of Diocletian on the right. The station is very skilfully planned, to make full use of the given conditions. The restaurant, for instance, is placed in a quiet and charmingly laid out corner behind the Etruscan city wall. The structure of the booking hall roof with its great overhanging canopy echoes the silhouette, seen through the glazed end wall, of the Etruscan wall. A most imaginative and bold design. The colour scheme is quiet and cool and just the right background to the busy scene.

4. *Manchester, Oxford Road*. Completed, 1960. Architect: Headley.

A medium-sized urban station at a Y-junction. This is remarkable for its laminated timber roof, a more disciplined version of the kind of roof designed for the Sidney opera house.

5. *Small stations between Manchester and Crewe.* Completed, 1960. Architect: Headley.

All based on a unit construction system which is adaptable to varying local conditions and capable of being assembled on the site with a minimum disturbance of traffic. There is a distinct family likeness of all the smaller stations on this line, intended to be carried on to the south of Crewe. The big stations in Manchester, Crewe and Stafford will form punctuation marks.

6. *Coventry Station.* Nearing completion. Architect: Headley.

This is planned, in collaboration with the City Architect, Arthur Ling, to fit in with the local authority's town planning scheme. The design provides for clear segregation of various kinds of traffics. The complexity of accommodation within the building is skilfully contained in a very simple and telling form.

7. *Harlow New Town Station.* Completed, 1960. Architect: Powell.

One of the best buildings in this new town. Very consistent detailing throughout, including the electric overhead equipment. Although not large, the building impresses by its powerful massing.

8. *Hadley Wood Station.* Completed, 1959. Architect: Powell.

A small commuter station, with all the virtues of restraint and honesty which have been mentioned in connection with Schiedam in Holland.

9. *Plymouth North Road Station.* Anticipated completion end of 1961. Architect: Cavanagh (died August, 1960).

In a city where, on the whole, the post-war reconstruction has been disappointing in quality, this will be an outstanding exception (Figure 6).

As yet, this country has no new stations comparable in size to Rome, Naples, Venice, Vienna, etc., but I hope you will agree that as far as the quality of design is concerned we are not lagging behind.

The interiors of some of the new trains of British Railways show that a similar new look is emerging in rolling stock design.

The large passenger buildings at airports present similar problems to those encountered in the design of railway station buildings, except that they are completely isolated from neighbouring buildings. They also have not, as yet, to accommodate the large numbers of passengers that pass through a London terminus during rush hours. Their scale of accommodation and amenities is often more adequate for requirements than that to be found in the newest railway stations. No doubt this is a good selling point for air travel.

Their placing on island sites, with open space all round, has encouraged in some cases (e.g., Saarinen's Idlewild, New York) an architectural exuberance not to be found in other transport buildings, except perhaps in the elder Saarinen's station at Helsinki (built 1906). As a change from too many rectangular boxes, this is to be welcomed, although in my opinion—for the same reasons which cause me to admire the station at Schiedam—the buildings at Gatwick by Yorke, Rosenberg and Mardall seem far more appropriate.

As in the case of railway stations during a period of rapidly increasing traffic, airports suffer from the rapid growth of huts and shanty towns around their

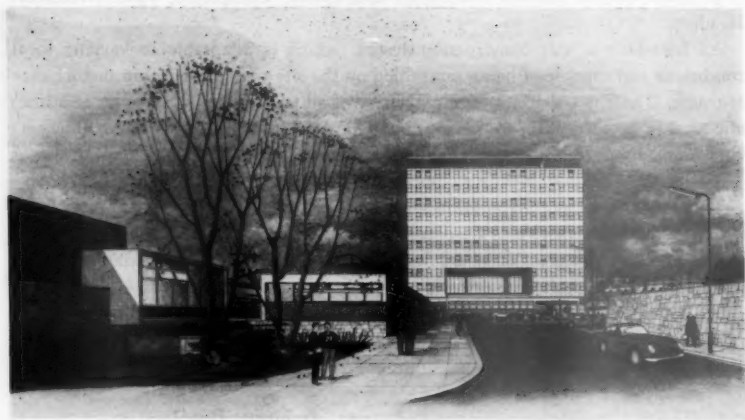


FIGURE 6. *Artist's impression of the Plymouth North Road Station, now under construction to the designs of the late H. E. B. Cavanagh*

fringes, an indication that air travel might soon loose the previously mentioned selling point.

An architecturally important point about airport buildings is that arriving passengers see them for the first time from the air, and it is desirable that this first impression should be a satisfactory one. In fact, air travel has made the bird's eye view, which used to matter only where towns, villages or buildings could be seen from surrounding hills, something in need of special design consideration, irrespective of geographical conditions. If this fact is generally acknowledged, this will perhaps lead architects to greater discipline in the layout of buildings. It will also encourage greater care in the visual design of flat roofs. As anyone knows who has looked down from a tall building on to acres of dreary asphalt, this care has often been lacking up to now.

In sea transport we have, especially from the eighteenth century, a great heritage of dockside warehouses, customs buildings and lighthouses. It is encouraging to see the good design of one of Britain's newest lighthouses which shows that new forms can grow out of an old tradition.

Of recent new construction in our ports, I would mention the warehouses and the passenger building in Hull which were completed in 1959 (Figure 7), and the several new passenger terminals in Southampton, the most recent of these serving the new liners of the Orient and P. & O. lines.

Since the pioneering work of the Orient line in the 1930s, architects have been more closely associated with the design of ship interiors, and it is, therefore, perhaps justifiable to regard this as a branch of transport architecture. If I show, as the first example, a Danish ship, built 1957, the *Prinsesse Margrete*, of the United Steamship

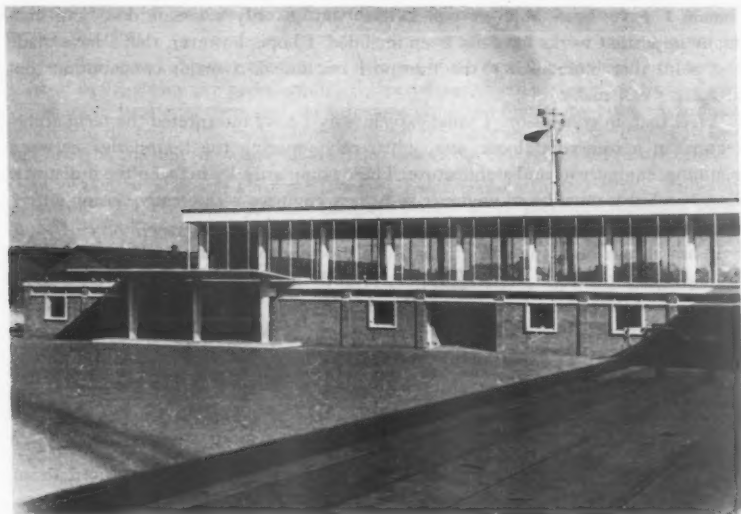


FIGURE 7. Terminal building, British Transport Docks, Hull. Built 1959; consulting engineers, Sir Bruce White, Wolfe Barry & Partners; architect, F. F. C. Curtis

Company, I do this because the architect, Kay Korbing, has probably had more direct influence on all aspects of design, including the exterior, than any other architect connected with ship design. As a result, he was able to provide in this ship of about 5,000 tons a feeling of spaciousness which is lacking in many a big liner. At the same time, this is a ship, not a houseboat. Nothing has been superimposed to hide the characteristic shapes of a ship.

The *Prinsesse Margrete* has been an inspiration to those responsible for the interiors of a British Railways ship on the Channel Island run, completed in 1960, in which a major design problem, was, as in the Danish ship, to create the impression of spaciousness in a small vessel (only about 4,000 tons) carrying a maximum number of passengers.

It is to be hoped that any successor to the 'Queens' will live up to the examples set in the *Oriana* and *Canberra*, both representing the latest achievements in a consistent development of ship design, which began with the *Orion* and *Orcades* of pre-war years.

Lack of time prevents me from referring to more than one structure connected with 'bus services, the 'bus station at Bath, completed in 1958 (architect, Allan Briggs). This is located near the railway station on a site which for about 10 years was a bomb-damaged slum. It has given a new look to that part of the town and provides for passengers amenities not often found in 'bus travel.

I am very much aware that the selection of examples of transport architecture which I have been able to put before you is only a small one, and that many important works have not been included. I hope, however, that I have made the point that 'humanizing' the transport machine is a major contribution that architects can make.

I feel that, in conclusion, I must explain why I have interpreted the term architecture in a somewhat loose way, apparently ignoring the boundaries between planning, engineering and architecture. These boundaries are in fact often indistinct. Every architect must be an engineer and every engineer with creative vision enters the world of art. Both must be planners.

It has always been the aim of this Royal Society to further the Arts as well as the Sciences, to serve Art and Industry, and this is an aim which should be before all architects and engineers. Specialization is unavoidable in the modern world. The days of Leonardo da Vinci, when an artist could also be an engineer, are gone, but even to-day a common aim should unite teams of men with different skills, working together as one and creating bigger things than one man alone can achieve.

#### DISCUSSION

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sure you must feel that you have been introduced to an entirely new school of architecture. I have seen a lot of this in many parts of the world, but never such a collection of work as has been illustrated to-day. Dr. Curtis has made a valuable contribution to the Society's proceedings. I am sure that many of you here have questions that you would like to ask him.

MR. P. K. SHAHANI: What are the lecturer's feelings about Frederick Gibberd's design of London Airport?

THE LECTURER: The fact that I did not mention it in the lecture does not mean that I want to express any criticism. I think it is a very good airport design. Of course, London Airport is still full of shortcomings, but Frederick Gibberd's second part, the part which deals with the overseas transport, has only just started, and at the moment the most distant travellers find their accommodation in a shanty town. Gatwick is a very much smaller airport and has not got this trouble at the moment. It is difficult for me to make any comparison between Gatwick and London Airport.

MR. ALAN HOLWELL: Does Dr. Curtis believe that in this age we could produce a new railway vernacular?

THE LECTURER: I think we are doing it at the moment, not only in this country but in other countries too.

MR. TIMOTHY MURGATROYD: The problem of getting from the airport to the centre of the city was mentioned. Has the speaker done any research or does he know of any research being done in this connection, and on the problem of streamlining customs procedure?

THE LECTURER: I believe Lord Bossom has been connected with a scheme for a monorailway from London Airport into London. It is a great pity it has not been built, as obviously it is one of the answers to the problem of curtailing the congestion between arriving at the airport and getting into the centre of the city. One can only hope there will be ministerial support for such a scheme. The customs arrangements at the airports are on the whole fairly quick. There is a lot of mechanization for moving luggage from one place to another.

MR. C. W. HUTTON: Does Dr. Curtis envisage any public transport plying from the

large multi-storey car parks, that he suggested should be built on the perimeter of cities? Does he propose to connect those to the centre of the town with public service vehicles?

THE LECTURER: I should have thought that one of the results of having this arrangement of multi-storey car parks around the perimeter of cities would be that people would leave their cars there and then proceed either on foot or by public transport or taxi into the town. The main point is to clear the inner streets of the city of parked cars, thereby making the whole of the traffic inside the city very much more fluid.

MR. C. GURNEY BURGESS: I wonder if some stations could introduce small exhibition halls (such as those at the Design Centre) to show small furniture, sanitary ware, etc.? My other question is, who is responsible for the width of seats on the new diesel two-and-three compartments?

THE LECTURER: There is a plan to have exhibition rooms at some of the larger stations. It would be one of those developments which may be profitable—trade exhibition centres and other kinds of exhibition centres at stations.

As to who is responsible for the seating—I suppose it is a result of the urge to make as much money out of a trip as possible. I do not know whether the seating in the diesels is worse than in other trains. The coaches are of the same width, and you get the same arrangement of seating on the southern region electric trains. They are very tightly packed but one must not forget there are a fantastic number of persons to be brought into the city in a very short time. From the point of view of human comfort only one cannot possibly defend them.

MR. R. D. MCMEEKIN: I wonder what are Dr. Curtis's views on the effect which transport has on the architecture alongside it? It seems to me that railways and trunk roads tend to depress the aesthetic and financial values of most urban properties alongside them. Nearly every urban railway line is backed by depressing lines of slums, rubbish pits, factories and general ugliness. The problem is an old one and we have tended to accept it, but I wonder if Dr. Curtis has got any views on how we might put it right in the future?

THE LECTURER: Well the first thing is that we should not accept it. We have got used to it because this kind of railway landscape has grown over many years. It is by no means inevitable, however. This is a point which I also make in my talk: with any kind of problem of architecture one should always start by looking at things, and then one becomes aware how hideous they really are. Slum clearance is of course a vast task, but to be fair you find miles and miles of ordinary streets with hideous houses too. Some towns are hideous from one end to the other. I think it is because people do not open their eyes and do not recognize them as hideous, and we must do something about it.

MR. G. P. WOODFORD: Does Dr. Curtis think that red double-decker 'buses are the right colour for London and in scale with London streets?

THE LECTURER: I think double-decker 'buses now present a difficult problem, because architects and planners are considering the use of elevated walkways crossing over the road, and since double-decker 'buses are fairly high it means climbing fairly high if you want to cross the road. As a result there probably will not be any great advantage over the subways, where you only have to go eight feet down and up on the other side. It is very much easier and probably, on the whole more sightly. As to the colour of the London Transport 'buses, I think they are a beautiful colour, one of the few things that make the greyness of London streets a bit more lively. I suppose the scale is all right. The design of London Transport 'buses has for a long time received very close attention. As motor vehicles, I think they are very well designed.

MR. DAVID BLACKWELL: May I ask if there are any steps being taken to co-ordinate transport furniture in the different services?

THE LECTURER: Quite a number of steps. Perhaps they are not always very much encouraged when people recommend that the railways should be more and more decentralized and every little bit should run as its own concern and take no notice of the others, but in spite of that there is a lot of co-ordination, and you will find that there will be a kind of railway vernacular. It takes a very long time to develop, because there are thousands and thousands of miles of permanent way with all the paraphernalia of line-side equipment, which cannot just be pulled down. You have to do it when they become life-expired and have to be renewed in any case. You cannot, just because you are aesthetically affronted by what is there, decide to remove the lot and put something new in its place.

MISS JOCELYN ADBURGHAM: It was disappointing that Dr. Curtis did not refer to the extraordinarily successful Car Terminal scheme at Dover which was carried out by the Transport Commission. The whole of the quayside treatment seemed to demonstrate how these arrival points and the traffic situation should be handled.

THE LECTURER: I can only say I am sorry that I have left it out, because I quite agree it is very nice. You are speaking of the Car Ferry Terminal at Dover. I could also have mentioned that one of the car ferry boats has an interior designed by Ward and Austin. Unfortunately, in the course of a lecture it is very difficult to do justice to everything. For instance, I showed Idlewild Airport in America. There are others built by the same architect, which are also very beautiful and interesting. I could have shown more railway stations from this country and certainly many more from abroad.

MR. C. GURNEY BURGESS: I am very interested in the development of the helicopter and I should like to know whether any thought is being given to fitting it into overall design considerations in future planning?

THE LECTURER: I suppose there are two factors which need to be considered before this becomes a pressing problem: one is the need to silence the helicopters and the other one is to ensure that they are safe to use over cities. I believe there are restrictions on helicopter flying in built-up areas. There may be a future. On the Continent the helicopters are already used a lot for inter-city traffic: for instance they were used at the Brussels Exhibition two years ago. (They made a lot of noise.)

MR. FRANK R. BERNARD: Having recently received three parking summonses from the Metropolitan Police shortly after buying my first motor car, I now leave it on the fringes of a city. Is this a defeatist attitude? Would not it be better to let the motor car driver bring his car into town where he may be able to use it and park it underground? I feel sure that the congestion in London is caused mainly by curb parking.

THE LECTURER: In his opening remarks Lord Bossom described what he saw on the road; so many cars containing only one passenger. It means that each person who is allowed to go into town by car takes up an enormous amount of space that is available for all. I should have thought that it is better for the car to come to terms with man rather than the other way round, and that was what I actually tried to put across.

MR. BERNARD: I disagree. You spoke of Los Angeles, I think. I understand the city of Los Angeles is spreading. If everybody had to park their cars outside Los Angeles it would take quite a while getting from one side to the other. It seems a pity.

THE LECTURER: We none of us live alone in these islands. We cannot behave as if we did. It is a perfectly natural desire to have a car at one's disposal and to be able to get in it at any time, over any route, in any way one would like to go. But it cannot be done in a congested island like this. It just is not possible, and somehow we have got to come to terms with that.



MR. BERNARD: It would be possible if cars not in use were off the road.

THE LECTURER: That would help a lot, but I still do not think it would solve the problem.

MR. A. H. STROUD: What are the prospects of elevated urban motorways? Dr. Curtis suggested keeping all private traffic out of towns in the future and having all the cars parked outside.

THE LECTURER: It is one of the possibilities to build roads over the cities, but they are not going to improve the amenities of life for those who live in offices and houses around. It would probably be better if you had roads going through cities underground, with large underground garages, but the cost would be fantastic. It is something which probably can be applied in certain places. We are now having underpasses and flyover bridges built in this country, but we have not yet had a completely elevated roadway.

MR. R. D. BUTTERELL: I should like to ask Dr. Curtis if he thinks there is any possibility of the main lines coming into London being put underground—which would release a tremendous amount of valuable land, whether to be built on, to be looked at, or planted with trees.

THE LECTURER: It would be prohibitively costly to put them all underground. There are places where cuttings could be built over and used for other purposes.

MR. W. A. MITCHELL: As an engineer, I was very interested to hear so many questions relating to traffic engineering and car parking, but what has Dr. Curtis in mind as the most promising field for pure architecture in direct relation to transport if we all travel underground or by air?

THE LECTURER: If traffic were all by air or underground, you would still need all kinds of amenities for passengers. You would need all kinds of buildings for the handling of goods, and you would still have to make the underground tunnels into satisfactory structures. I would even say you would need architectural skill in the interior of aircraft. I think there would still be a good deal left for the architect.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is a new subject for thought: it is meeting a new human need; it is going through its growing pains, and we are not going to get perfection right away. Man has to think things out and experiment a bit more.

Talking about this underground idea: in San Francisco they have a four-storey underground garage, which shows that it can be done. I know of many skyscrapers (I was responsible for one or two of them) which have storeys underground. You can use the underground for any purpose you like. The multi-storey car park, however, is not as simple as it looks. There are many technical difficulties about it. We have a lot more to learn before we are certain that we are going to make a great success of it when we have got it.

Now I should like to propose a warm vote of thanks to Dr. Curtis.

*The vote of thanks to the Lecturer was carried with acclamation, and the meeting then ended.*

# WALLPAPER AND ITS HISTORY

*A paper by*

*E. A. ENTWISLE,*

*A Director, Wallpaper Manufacturers Ltd., read to  
the Society on Wednesday, 1st February, 1961, with  
Ivan C. Sanderson in the Chair*

THE CHAIRMAN: I have known Mr. Entwisle practically all my life. We were schoolboys together and though I cannot say that in those days he already showed that he was going to become a man of letters, he was certainly always a thoughtful boy: given a little to hero worship perhaps! To counter that he had that square chin which you see now, and which made him impervious to matters which did not find merit in his eyes.

Now forgetting those school days and marching on to manhood—Mr. Entwisle has a certain duality in his character in that being a scholar he is also a successful business man. I am not going to say that he is Jekyll and Hyde, I am going to suggest to you that this duality is extremely helpful, not only to ourselves, but also to himself. The scholar who burns the midnight oil is helpful to the business man that he becomes in the morning. We who work with Mr. Entwisle are extremely glad of that duality, and I would give you just one reason why. We are proud of our industry because we think that it is one of the finest; wall decorations can spread culture and can give as much pleasure as you can have in the whole field of decoration. It is our business to supply this decoration to a vast number of people, and so we have to go into mass production with great machines. But those machines have to be fed, and it costs us no more to produce nice, well-styled, well-coloured, designs, than to simply scribble rubbish and print it on paper. Those machines are fed by people like Eric Entwisle, and by artists, stylists and colourists, so that we hope that we do something beyond the pure commerce of our trade. We try to lift up the tastes of our customers as well as to make money for our shareholders.

I should like to say one other thing about Eric Entwisle, of which I make a joke in my own mind. As well as this duality that is within his character, he has a schizophrenic approach to design. He is steeped in antiquity and yet he is our expert on all the 'isms'; futurism, surrealism, cubism, right down to the abstract. If we want to know if there is any sense in the abstract, who do we go to? We go to our lecturer himself—Eric Entwisle.

*The following paper, which was illustrated with lantern slides, was then read.*

## THE PAPER

About fifty years ago, an American lady, Kate Sanborn, wrote a charming book on wallpaper which she quaintly described as 'an account of the pictorial papers on our forefathers' walls'. She called this book *Old-Time Wallpapers*,<sup>1</sup> a title I should have used for the paper I am privileged to deliver to-day had she not thought of it first. For like Kate Sanborn I am a connoisseur and collector of old wallpaper, and I hope that what I have to say about this side of the subject will enable you to appreciate the significance of wallpaper in the field of interior decoration and in social affairs generally during the past 300 years.

The other day, when renewing my British Museum Reader's ticket for the purpose of 'continuing research into the history of wallpaper', the assistant behind the desk remarked, 'What an unusual subject. How did you come to think of it and what exactly *is* its history?' I replied that the subject was not quite as unusual as he might think; that I had been introduced to it when, as a young man, I had carried out some research for a book on wallpaper which Batsford published in 1926,<sup>2</sup> and finally, as for giving him an account of wallpaper's origin and development in a few minutes, he would no doubt understand that this was impossible.

Yet this is more or less what I am expected to do to-day, a task which obliges me to indicate rather than explore many interesting topics which have a bearing on the subject and which, in other circumstances should be dealt with more closely than is here and now possible. I am referring mainly to the antecedents of wallpaper: the painted cloths, tapestries, embroideries, silks and velvets and especially the embossed and painted leather hangings, all of which are barely touched upon in my talk to-day. But I regret also the lack of opportunity to dilate upon the different periods of interior decoration, each of which contributed its own style of original or borrowed design to the story, and the impossibility of paying tribute to the work of hundreds of talented artists and designers, the majority of whom have suffered an undeserved anonymity for over two centuries—although without them the industry could not have survived, let alone made the spectacular progress it has.

Everyone knows of course that comfort and adornment were considerations of importance to mankind even in earliest times, and that the idea of decorating his home, whether cave or tent, was an instinct which came with his developing intellect. Wallpaper, which made a late entry in the history of interior decoration, was a substitute for many of the more elaborate and costly mural hangings which evolved with the course of time. In 1699 it was in fact aptly described as 'paper tapestry',<sup>3</sup> a term which soon after was rejected in favour of an even more appropriate description, 'paperhangings'. Wallpaper, even to-day, is still a substitute, but its quality and the simplicity of its application have resulted in its universal acceptance as an indispensable medium in its own right.

Many authorities have said that wallpaper originated in the Far East, with particular reference to China, where paper was being made during the first century A.D., but this view has since been reliably discounted<sup>4</sup> and it is now held that it is of European origin, closely linked, as you would expect, with the introduction of papermaking during the Middle Ages. This does not mean that wallpaper was thought of as soon as the first water-motivated paper mill was established in Europe (which took place in Italy during the fourteenth century), but rather that the paper mills eventually paved the way for the dissemination, not only of the printed word but also of printed pictures and general ornamentation, thus in time suggesting the use of decorated paper for walls.

Painted, as opposed to printed, paper would come first no doubt. Louis XI, for example, in 1481, is said to have used fifty *grands rouleaux* of painted paper for the royal château at Plessis-lez-Tours<sup>5</sup> and there is a statute of Richard III<sup>6</sup> (1483-85),

placing an embargo on the importation of painted papers and painted cloths, which was evidently framed to protect a domestic industry, if such it could be called.

The earliest known 'so-called' wallpaper was found *in situ*, in 1911, in the Master's lodgings at Christ's College, Cambridge. It was printed on the back of a Proclamation dated 1509 and, as you see, the wood-cut design (black on white), has a strong resemblance to those of the Italian Renaissance textiles.

This particular example has become so well known to wallpaper historians and students that I feel almost apologetic about its inclusion among my illustrations, but it is important in that it shows the extent of the influence which the early letter press printers had on the beginnings of wallpaper.

It is thought to be the work of a printer, Hugo Goes, who was working at that time in York and Beverley. The story of this discovery can be read in any of the books on wallpaper published recently and also in a contemporary Cambridge periodical, *The Library*,<sup>7</sup> so I will do no more than refer to it briefly in this way before passing on to another discovery, which, although relating to a later period, is to me of special interest.

You will notice that this paper (Figure 1) is printed red on white (red ochre was used as the pigment), but again the design is strongly reminiscent of Italian printed textiles. Experts have put the date of manufacture as 1660/80.

I have a sort of proprietary regard for this paper, which comes from a house, now demolished, in Overton-on-Dee, near Wrexham, because I played some part in its discovery and myself removed the fragments you see from the plaster of the walls of the room in which it was found. I have described this paper elsewhere<sup>8</sup> and I think it must be the second, or at least the third, oldest wallpaper to have been found *in situ* in this country.

It should be mentioned that at about this time printers on the Continent, and a few in this country too, were producing a variety of decorated papers, many of which were used for lining chests, cupboards and boxes, and occasionally for lining walls. The 'decorated' papers made during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on the Continent have been the subject of many learned inquiries and there is an extensive literature to be consulted especially by those who are interested in the history of marbling paper, which craft was, and still is, closely associated with book production. I would prefer to classify these papers, as 'Fancy' papers rather than wallpapers, for their makers in France, Germany and Italy, as has just been mentioned, had their eyes on markets other than wallpaper.

I must pass quickly from the fascinating subject of the early decorated papers, with their small-scale patterning achieved by so many ingenious printing processes, to the 'black and white' lining papers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, because the latter are the direct precursors of wallpaper though not all were used in that capacity. Many of the printed lining papers used in boxes and chests have survived the centuries and may be seen in museum and private collections. Those in which the design 'repeats', may be regarded as the 'true' wallpapers as in the case of this Elizabethan paper from Besford Court, Worcestershire.

These lining papers printed by wood blocks were the subject of an investigation in 1925 undertaken by Mr. (later Sir) Hilary Jenkinson, then Assistant Keeper at



FIGURE 1. *Wallpaper discovered in situ in an old house at Overton-on-Dee, near Wrexham. Printed in a single colour, rust red, and pasted directly on to the plaster, c. 1680*

the Public Record Office, whose findings were subsequently reported to the Society of Antiquaries.<sup>9</sup> Jenkinson said that his interest was originally aroused with the Cambridge discovery when he gave some assistance in the identification of the Proclamation on which the pattern was printed. This led to the examination of some hundreds of deed boxes to which he had access, some being lined with paper on which heraldic or floral patterns had been printed. Most were of English provenance like this one illustrated, the design of which has, like the Besford Court example, been drawn 'in repeat' suggesting its intended use as mural decoration. There is no end to the variety of motif and pattern in these 'black and white' papers and I think we are very fortunate in possessing so many examples of a class of papers which forms such an important link in the evolution of wallpaper. My next illustration shows a more formal treatment of floral design which could well be adapted for use as a wallpaper to-day (if this has not already been done!). It is another 'black and white' paper with a repeating design which was found in a Dower Chest in this country and the suggested date is early seventeenth century.



FIGURE 2. *Red flock on painted canvas. Cut and sewn to fit the height of a wall from skirting to cornice, c. 1660-80. (Any suggestions as to the provenance of this example would be welcomed)*

It will be appreciated that the opportunities for making and selling these occasional prints increased as soon as paper in sufficient quantity became available, yet in England full commercial exploitation was long delayed and the first paper-hanging makers, who in London just prior to 1700 had been associated with the leather gilding craft, were obliged to import much of their paper from abroad. (Your Society's records contain details of premiums offered as late as the mid-eighteenth century for ideas which might lead to improvements in the manufacture of the home produced article.)<sup>10</sup> In particular the manufacture of flock wallpaper, about which I will shortly have more to say, called for a well made, tough paper such as I believe was not manufactured in any quantity in this country at that time.

The main point to remember about the advent of wallpaper, and its subsequent development industrially, is that from the beginning it lent itself admirably to the arts of imitation. All the early examples relating to the latter part of the seventeenth century, and indeed from then on, were imitations of more costly material. The advertisements issued during the early part of the eighteenth century proudly announce the fact and you will see from the illustrations which follow that their claims to be able to match in paper almost any kind of mural hanging certainly did not overstate the case.

I am sure everyone will be familiar with the flock wallpapers which succeeded the 'black and white' papers at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but you may not know their origin nor how they were made.

My next slide (Figure 2) shows what is probably one of the most unexpected finds of recent times—a length of flocked and painted canvas which came to light in a London antique shop a few months ago after having been purchased in France. (The French owners were unable to say where it came from.) Various opinions have been expressed about its origin. France or Germany possibly; who can say? but most are agreed that its date is about 1680/1700, though I think it could be earlier. It is a very valuable link between the authentic velvet hangings and their imitations on cloth and paper, and you may be able to

see that the length has been specially cut and sewn to fit the wall from skirting to cornice. I think one may conclude that this canvas hanging was treated with flock (wool shearings) just about the time when paperhanging makers were beginning to master the technicalities of applying flock to paper.

The art of flocking was known to cloth workers in very early times, for it was a useful means of making poor cloth (such as canvas or hessian), look and feel better than it was. The preamble of an Act of Richard III (1483), speaks of 'the sellers of such "course"

clothes being bare of threde usen for to powder and  
cast flokkys of fynner cloth upon the same',

and this wording, in its simplicity, succinctly describes the process which involved printing the design in a slow drying adhesive and then scattering the cloth shearings over the surface of the paper or other material.

It is interesting to note that flocking was also used to add embellishment to leather, though I should think this was by no means usual.

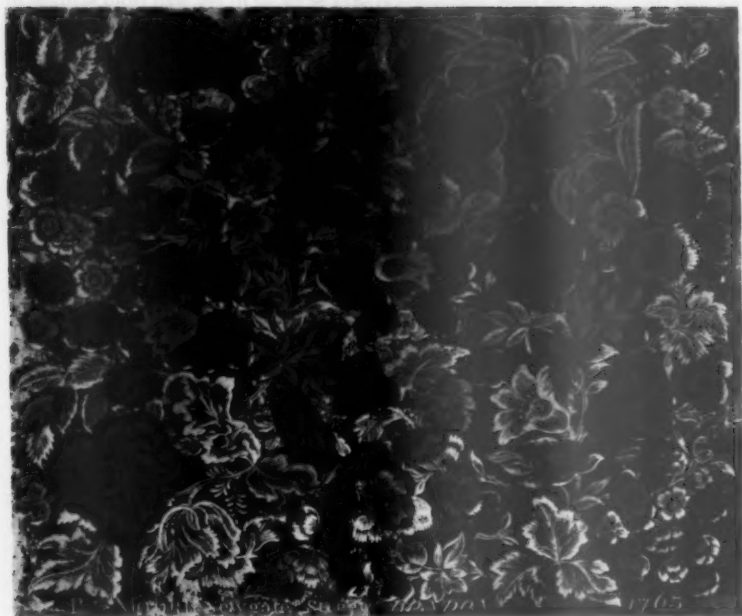
Time does not permit a more detailed description of the operations involved in the manufacture of flock papers, but it can be said that from the very beginning these were regarded as the finest of all wallpapers and even to-day are the most opulent in appearance. Who invented the adaptation of the process to paper? There are two contenders for this distinction during the early seventeenth century, from France and England, but neither claim has much meaning seeing that flock was used on many kinds of material excepting paper from medieval times, and its subsequent application to paper would hardly constitute a discovery in the true sense of the word.

Some authorities state that the first flock papers appeared in England about 1600/1630, but recent evidence suggests a later date (about 1700) when paper was being made strong enough to be so treated.

From 1700, the date which most accept as marking the beginning of the wallpaper industry on a commercial scale, many varieties of papers were being made. In the City of London during the early eighteenth century at least a dozen makers were conducting evidently flourishing businesses, offering for sale 'all sorts' of coloured paperhangings including 'Japan' and 'India' paper (the terms in use for the Chinese painted papers and their European imitations); flocks; chintzes; marbled papers and papers imitating needlework, embroidery and coloured wainscot. An advertisement of 1702<sup>11</sup> refers to 'Embossed Work' and, although not so frequently mentioned as other types, it is a fact that plain paper, after being hung on the site, was painted by artists employed by the paperhanging maker with landscapes or ornamental panels especially devised to suit a particular room.

The references to embossed papers are particularly interesting for, although few examples have survived, we do know that processes required for giving a raised effect to the printed paper were available and in any case makers, or some of them, had a wide experience of stamping and tooling the by now rather *démodé* leather hangings. We also know that they were proficient in making and handling papier mâché,<sup>12</sup> an invention which came to England from France during the first half





[Victoria &amp; Albert Museum]

FIGURE 3. Gold embossed and stencilled paper produced by Benjamin Moore, Newgate Street, London. Moore in 1764 won a premium of £50 offered by the Society of Arts for making embossed paper

of the eighteenth century, and which was much used thereafter in schemes of interior decoration.

Further study is required before one can safely differentiate between the aggravatingly vague references to the embossed papers which appear in advertisements, trade cards and correspondence of the period. In 1720 we come across 'a curious sort of Imbossed Work resembling Cassaws', which probably refers to the Flock papers then in vogue.<sup>13</sup> Then in 1730 'stamp't papers in rolls'<sup>14</sup> (true embossing most likely). In 1747 'colouring and embossing of Thick Paper'<sup>15</sup> (papier mâché), and in 1764, the embossed paper (Figure 3) which won for its London inventor one of your Society's awards. The phrase 'raised stucco', so often used by eighteenth-century paperhanging makers, must refer to papier mâché, the sort of decoration to which Lady Luxburgh may have been referring when she wrote, in 1750, of seeing in Lord Foley's chapel in Worcestershire 'a paper stamped so deep as to project considerably and is very thick and strong'.<sup>16</sup> This is just another subject on which we must defer further discussion, but I can in passing say that the matter has been dealt with, especially as regards the manufacture of papier

mâché in Ireland, very fully in a paper read within recent years to the Royal Society of Antiquaries in Ireland.<sup>17</sup>

The 'black and white', or single wood cut prints, had by now given way to the multi-coloured papers printed in distemper (i.e., colours mixed with whiting and size). Most of these were well drawn and intelligently designed to present a pleasing effect when repeated over the wall surface, and while some preserved a strict formality (not unlike the popular designs of to-day), others aspired to more original and imaginative themes which introduced, with consummate elegance, flowers, fruit and birds, in colours which were very skilfully combined.

Although we have already touched upon the flock papers I should like to show another example, firstly because it emphasizes a fertility of design and invention common enough during the eighteenth century, and secondly because it reveals the oriental influence which originated with the importation of Chinese wallpapers into Europe about the beginning of the century.

The great period of the Chinese painted papers was between 1740 and 1790, when they began to be used all over England in the homes of the aristocracy. Apart from their intrinsic beauty and their suitability for use in the spacious Georgian mansions of the period, they had, of course, additional appeal because in the most prized 'sets' all the work was done by hand, no two sheets being exactly alike. Highly valued by their owners, they were usually hung on battens instead of being pasted directly on the wall, and in this way their preservation was happily ensured. Hundreds of these papers are still to be seen, in this country, on the Continent and in America, on the walls of the rooms in which they were originally hung.

The chinoiserie flock paper shown a few minutes ago which came from Hurlcote Manor, Northamptonshire (Figure 4) illustrates the vigorous manner in which English paperhanging makers combated the vogue for the imported variety. The chinoiserie papers, of which many examples have survived, have great charm and interest, even when, as in some cases, figures are made to stroll idly through typically Chinese surroundings wearing the three-cornered hat and frock coat of the Georgian period.

These Chinese painted wallpapers deserve to be treated at much greater length than is possible now, for their perfection as decorative hangings has seldom, if at any time, been surpassed, and even to-day they command the greatest interest and admiration. I may add for your information, that all books on wallpaper devote appropriate space to the subject, most of them noting where the best examples may be seen.

We have now reached a period (the second half of the eighteenth century) which saw the firm establishment of the wallpaper industry in this country. It was even exporting wallpaper at this time in what a contemporary writer describes as 'vast quantities'<sup>18</sup> to the Continent and also to America, where manufacture was only just beginning. Evidence of its promising development is to be found in the taxation imposed on the home product during the reign of Queen Anne, and the rapid recruitment of makers and dealers to what was fast becoming a flourishing branch of commerce, in spite of this tax on wallpaper and also on the paper on which it



[Victoria &amp; Albert Museum]

FIGURE 4. *Flock paper from Hurlcote Manor, Northants. English, c. 1720*

was printed. Paperhanging makers, or paperstainers as they were now more frequently called, some of whom were the founders of businesses which were to be household names a hundred years later, were springing up all over London, and of course, the dealers, stationers and upholsterers, who handled the article, as I have said, multiplied proportionately.

The second half of the eighteenth century was the 'golden age' of wallpaper, and its makers displayed unerring taste in the design and colouring of their productions. I have often wondered who the designers were who contributed so much to the reputation which English manufacturers then enjoyed, and I was particularly interested to learn that your Society, by its offers of premiums from about 1760 onwards for drawings which might be considered suitable for wallpaper and allied products, shared in raising standards of taste and encouraging industrial art of this kind.

It may be that distance lends enchantment to the view, but it seems to me that there is an authority both in the conception and treatment of these designs that is



FIGURE 5. *An example of a very fine wallpaper design of the mid-eighteenth century, from an old house in Canterbury*

rarely to be found in succeeding periods, with the possible exception of the Morris school during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Even the quality of the pigments used and the manner of fixing these were extraordinarily dependable, as I have found when separating layers of old wallpaper in a basin of warm water.

Let us take a glimpse of some of these wallpapers selected at random from my own collection.

The eighteenth century paperstainers had a wealth of skill and manufacturing experience to draw upon, and because of this and their general business acumen, they attracted the patronage of distinguished and fashionable people who gradually came to show as much interest in the selection of paperhangings as they did in the choice of their Chippendale or Sheraton furniture. As tradesmen they were mostly quite well known and I am sure their fame would have endured to the present day had they not been makers of an expendable and an ephemeral article: one which, after perhaps affording immense satisfaction to the user, was soon stripped off the wall and completely forgotten.

I am not entirely without hope of one day finding out more about the eighteenth century paperstainers than I have succeeded in doing so far. I should like, for example, to identify and examine some of the productions of the Blew Paper

Warehouse, which stood for close on a hundred years in Aldermanbury, near Cheapside, whose papers, so it was said, were 'distinguished from any Pretenders by the words: "The Blue Paper Manufacture" at ye end of each Piece'; to find some mark or symbol which would assist in the identification of the many wall-papers produced by Thomas Bromwich whose business 'at the sign of the Golden Lion' was situated in Ludgate Hill for over a hundred years, and who, after serving in 1761-2 as Master of the Painters-Stainers' Company was, a year or two later, appointed 'Paperhanging Maker in Ordinary to the Great Wardrobe'; to be able to say with certainty which of the few wallpapers in existence loosely attributed to the Eckhardt brothers of Chelsea, who were patronized by the Princess Royal in 1793, and whose prowess was spoken of in something like awe by wallpaper manufacturers a hundred years later, were in fact produced by them; to be able to trace with accuracy the career and ultimate fate of the great Sherringham of Chelsea, who was referred to as 'the Wedgwood of Paperstainers'; to be able to say with authority whether the productions of John Baptist Jackson, of Battersea, were as good as they were supposed to be in his own estimation; to know something about the background of the designers who for the most part worked anonymously in the service of the industry.

Thanks to my friend Mr. Ramsey, editor of *The Connoisseur* (who allows me every now and then to publish a monograph on some of these firms in his journal), I have been able to record some details which may be of use to future researchers, and when I have come to the end of this work I should like to deal similarly with the great French paperstainers whose names are quite unknown to present wallpaper users in this country, though at one time their productions were considered as *objets de vertu* by visitors to France: men like Papillon, probably the first French maker and wallpaper historian; Réveillon, whose factory in Paris was sacked and pillaged at the beginning of the French Revolution; and Dufour, whose magnificent handpainted 'scenic' wallpapers, made during the early nineteenth century were admired by connoisseurs all over the world.

Dufour, and other French makers, were at their zenith during this period. Among their large collections of hand-printed papers, designed by artists of note, none exceeded in beauty and spectacular effect the wallpaper 'set' of which this particular slide represents one panel. It is called 'Les Amours de Psyche' (Figure 6) and the artist was Louis Lafitte, painter to the Court of Louis XVI. The complete series of 26 sheets, containing 12 panels, was first issued in 1815. It is said that no less than 1,245 blocks, large and small, were used in its production. How well these tableaux or panels looked, when hung, as was usually the case, from cornice to chair-rail, will be seen in this illustration.

Originally the printing was done on sheets about 17 in. by 22 in., stuck together to form a roll, but as soon as paper in 'endless' lengths began to be made (about 1830), the sheets were abandoned and printing was done on the longer lengths. Reprinting of this wallpaper took place several times after the first prints were issued in 1815, the most recent being 1872, 1889, 1905, 1923 and 1931. In fact, the original blocks were in the possession of the successors to the Dufour business until the outbreak of the last War, during which they were so badly damaged, whilst



[Deutsches-Tapeten Museum, Kassel]

FIGURE 6. *French hand-printed scenic wallpaper, 'Les Amours de Psyche'. Printed by Dufour, Paris, and hung in the Deutsches-Tapeten Museum, Kassel. This wallpaper was first produced about 1813*

in store, that further printing was impossible. It is hardly necessary for me to say that a complete set of this decoration, if printed on the small sheets, is likely to be of considerable value.

Time is getting on, however, and we must now jump straight into the nineteenth century, to a period when the growing demand for wallpaper encouraged manufacturers to think about accelerating production. The Industrial Revolution was in full swing and many aspiring inventors were lodging patents covering machines which might be expected to lower costs and increase output of many articles including wallpaper. One such invention which signified great changes in the wallpaper industry was the manufacture of paper in continuous lengths. It is perhaps unnecessary to go into this in detail, for once again your Society's records contain all the relevant facts,<sup>19</sup> but I will just say that a Frenchman, Louis Robert, was mainly responsible for the invention of what the paper trade calls the Fourdrinier machine, which made 'long' paper, from the pulp web to finished sheet, in one process. It is said that the model machine which Robert first made in 1796 was 'no bigger than a bird organ and the slips of paper which it made no wider than tape'. Some years elapsed before the new paper-making machine began to be used, but it became available a few years before the first wallpaper printing machine was invented in 1839—in fact, the one made the other possible. A distant relative of mine, one Walmsley Preston, who was an engineer attached to a firm of calico printers in Darwen, Lancashire, was mainly responsible for putting together the

prototype for this machine which soon after revolutionized the wallpaper industry, so that, thanks to 'long' paper, as many as 2,500 pieces of wallpaper (then 12 yards long) could be produced on one machine in a day.

I am afraid the Council of Industrial Design would have frowned on the wallpapers which began to roll off these new, steam-driven machines, yet looking back at this exciting period, wallpaper made for the masses was not all as banal as one might imagine. The same skill and ingenuity went into the machine-made wallpapers as had contributed to the success of the hand-produced article, and considering the possibilities which now opened up—mass-production, reduced prices, wider ranges of patterns, and so on—can one wonder that these benefits should be offset by some disadvantages—of which a lowering of artistic standards was one? Fortunately, hand methods of production continued to be employed, as they are to-day, alongside machine processes, with the result that the traditional skills were not entirely lost.

Early examples of machine-made wallpapers are not often found to-day and this is because their cheapness made them expendable, and also, I regret to say, many thousands of pattern books (some going back 100 years), were re-pulped during the last War to help make good the shortage of paper. I am however, able to show one example which is very typical of many cheap papers made during the 1850s. It is what we in the trade call a cheap 'pulp' wallpaper and the colours are printed directly on to the paper, i.e., the colour of the paper itself, in this case a pinky brown, formed the ground. Notice how part of the pattern is composed of thousands of dots made by metal pins driven (each one separately) into the surface of the printing roller. The modern manufacturer would certainly think twice before incurring the preparatory cost of such a pattern to-day. Wallpapers like this would have a very good sale at the time and one can imagine that many a Victorian homelover would be cheered by their dainty appearance.

These cheap machine-made 'pulp' papers appeared in stranger guises than the one you have just seen, and among them the pictorial and commemorative types were probably the most extraordinary. I have chosen one of the least offensive wallpapers of this type which shows pretty well what could be, and was, done in the name of mass production. When the manufacturers were not busily printing battle scenes from the Crimean War or glorifying in wallpaper the introduction of the 'Penny-farthing' bicycle, they tried their hand at neo-Gothic patterns which must have had an appalling effect when hung all over the room. It is probably not unreasonable to suppose that vulgarity of this kind had much to do with William Morris's reforming crusades, for he produced a wallpaper in 1862, his first, which was as sensitively charming as the others had been amusingly brutal.

Those who visited that outstanding Exhibition of Victorian and Edwardian Art which Peter Floud put on in the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1952 may remember some of the splendid wallpapers which William Morris designed, and assuming this to be the case I thought you might like to see one of his lesser known designs which Queen Victoria commanded should be done for Balmoral Castle in 1898. It is very unlike most of the beautiful floral designs created by him and one can guess that it gave him little comfort. Most of Morris's designs were hand-



printed by Jeffrey & Co. of Islington, a firm of note which was absorbed into my own Company in 1926. He was evidently not an easy designer to get on with. At one of your Society's lectures<sup>20</sup> the head of Jeffrey & Co., speaking of his relations with the great man, said that Morris 'allowed nothing to pass until he was quite satisfied that it was right both in colour and design; he remembered a case where he had an entire set of expensive blocks put aside because he was not pleased with the design'.

William Morris might have done more to alert public attention to good design if he had better appreciated the potentialities of the machine. Only the comparatively few were able to obtain the papers printed by Jeffreys, and the full impact of his influence was dissipated somewhat in consequence. However that may be, Morris, as in almost everything else he touched, did a great deal for wallpaper, not only by his own designs but in the encouragement these gave to other designers to maintain his high standards. Their names are familiar to us and many of their wallpapers, fortunately, may still be seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum and in private collections. My illustration shows a wallpaper designed by Walter Crane—'The Sleeping Beauty' which he drew in 1879.

The turn of the century saw a continuance of well-considered design expertly adapted to the needs of wallpaper production. In some papers the refining but rather fussy influence of the Arts and Crafts (1888) movement was noticeable, especially in those wallpapers produced by hand processes, but the machine-made goods remained on a low aesthetic level until after the end of the Second World War. In both branches of production—hand and machine—there was nevertheless the same dogged determination to please and to cater for all tastes that had characterized the industry from the outset. Most of us will readily recall some of the results—the vast pictorial friezes; the wallpaper panels made up of stiling borders, mitred to form the right angle join; the 'upward' growing and 'pendant' applied decorations; the 'corner' decorations which offered free rein to the most inventive decorator; the over-embellished embossed papers; individual appliqué motifs from flying ducks to Spanish galleons; cubist patterns in hideous abundance; and a bewildering welter of cut-out and 'non cut-out' borders.

This was excusable exuberance and there is something to be said for an industry that is lively enough to cater realistically for popular demand. Even the wallpaper border, so popular a few years ago and now, for some reason, so much despised, served other purposes besides the purely decorative, and in the days of 'Do it yourself' one wonders why it is not used more often as a finish to disguise the sometimes imperfect cutting of the paper at cornice and skirting board.

I hope I have said enough to show that wallpaper has a distinguished ancestry as well as a record of craftsmanship that has persisted throughout its history. In looking round a modern wallpaper factory you will see that traditional skills are still called for in many departments, even in the preparation of the rollers destined for the wallpaper printing machine. In the case of the blocks used for printing by hand, the processes are often very similar to those employed 250 years ago, though nowadays some blocks are mechanically routed where intricate cutting is not considered necessary.

Long experience and 'know-how' is very much in evidence on the technical side: machinery which is always being improved calls for constant surveillance, and colours too require to be regularly tested: but this is not really my province and I am not going to be tempted, much as I should like to do so, to go beyond my brief.

I must, however, return to what is really the most important theme of this talk, i.e., the preservation of old wallpaper, and the systematic recording of the old businesses connected with wallpaper. In 1839 two papers were delivered to the Royal Institute of British Architects, entitled 'The History of Paperhanging'.<sup>21</sup> The lecturer, J. G. Crace, was an eminent decorator and a scholar, and moreover he was an authority on this subject. It is quite evident that he took great pains in the preparation of this paper, for his marginal notes to be seen in the original manuscript refer to 20 or 30 examples of current wallpaper production which he evidently displayed to his audience from time to time. These examples have long since disappeared as well as any references he may have made to those who produced them, but the thing that is most aggravating of all is that he said so little about the great eighteenth-century paperhanging makers, many of whom must have been known, if not to himself, to his father Frederick Crace, who was one of the London decorators called in to advise on interior work at the Royal Pavilion, Brighton, and at Windsor Castle. One would have expected him to have given them their due credit, not only by giving some details of their progress in this particular field but by showing actual examples of their work, but this he does not appear to have done, and beyond mentioning and praising some of the more prominent makers of that period Crace might almost have gone out of his way to suppress the information I am sure he possessed.

Perhaps, in 1839, the idea of preserving and recording wallpapers made a hundred years before that date would not have much impact on those whose minds were already preoccupied with the products of an industry that was expanding so fast and so successfully in their own time. It is a pity that the opportunity was lost, but at least Crace in his lecture left posterity a number of valuable clues which subsequent historians were not slow in taking up.

I cannot sufficiently emphasize the importance (to the wallpaper and also to the social historian) of ensuring the careful removal of wallpaper that has the slightest claim to be old enough to deserve special treatment. In the Foreword of C. C. Oman's *Catalogue of Wallpaper*, written in 1929, the late Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Sir Eric Maclagan, rightly pointed out that there were many facts and dates still to be brought to light, many qualities and inflections of historical style still to be recorded. He added, 'it is only by comparison that new relations can be established, and new documents discovered, which may help in the enrichment of what is perhaps the most perishable form of decorative art'.

The Victoria and Albert Museum, whose wallpaper collection was augmented some thirty years ago by a large number of specimens donated by my company, has always allotted a considerable amount of storage space for these, but unlike the Wallpaper Museum at Kassel, in Germany, they have little opportunity of displaying them, where they are best seen, on the wall. You will appreciate that this

circumstance alone is not in the best interests of those who are studying interior decoration as a general subject.

I should like to see the establishment of a wallpaper museum in this country run perhaps, as in Germany, with the assistance of the industry. This is a matter I hope to discuss further with my Chairman who, although interested more in the future than the past, will readily agree, I know, that it would be a pity if by our inaction all trace were lost of the wallpapers I now show.

In the hurly burly of modern industry and commerce it needs both confidence and imagination to attend to matters of this kind. In a few months' time I shall be putting on in London a small exhibition of 'old-time' wallpapers which I have myself collected, and since it is proposed to give adequate publicity to this event I hope some of my audience will come and see it. I also hope that you will be good enough on this occasion to tell me about any discoveries you may have heard about, or warn me of any impending building demolitions which may reveal wallpapers of interest. This is not the first time, as you know, that these requests have been made, nor in fact that they have been responded to in a most encouraging way—all the same, I look forward to hearing from you.

## REFERENCES

1. Kate Sanborn, *Old-Time Wallpapers* (New York, 1905).
2. A. V. Sugden and J. L. Edmondson, *A History of English Wallpaper* (London, 1926).
3. John Houghton, F.R.S., *A Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 2 Vols. (London, 1689-1703).
4. C. C. Oman, *Catalogue of Wallpapers*, 1929, Introduction, p. 1.
5. H. Harward, *Dictionnaire de l'Ameublement et de la Decoration*, etc. (1887-1890).
6. *Ibid.*
7. Charles Edward Sayle, 'Cambridge Fragments': *The Library*, 3rd series (1911-1912).
8. E. A. Entwisle, 'Early Wallpapers': *Country Life* (16th July, 1953).
9. Hilary Jenkinson, 'English Wallpapers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries': *The Antiquaries' Journal* (July, 1925).
10. *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. CVII (1959), p. 361: 'Studies in the Society's Archives V'.
11. *The Postman* (10th Dec., 1702).
12. Thos. Mortimer, *Universal Decorator* (1763).
13. Blew Paper Warehouse, Aldermanbury, Advertisement.
14. *New England Journal* (26th Oct., 1730) (Advertisement).
15. *Description of All Trades* (London, 1747).
16. P. Toynbee, *Strawberry Hill Accounts*, 1927. Lady Luxburgh to Shenstone (13th Feb., 1750-1).
17. Mrs. Ada K. Longfield, 'The Manufacture of "Raised Stucco" or Papier Mâché Papers in Ireland': *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries in Ireland* (July, 1948).
18. Thos. Mortimer, *Universal Decorator*, 1763.
19. *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. VI (1857) p. 237.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. XLVI (1898), p. 530: discussion following 'The Life Work of William Morris', by F. S. Ellis.
21. John Gregory Crace, 'The History of Paperhangings' (1839): A Paper read to the Royal Institute of British Architects.

## DISCUSSION

MR. L. W. WILDGOOSE: I have been interested in wallpaper design and production since 1912. I have designed many papers. I should like to ask the lecturer to try and transport himself in imagination to the year 2061 and once there to cast his mind back to the period 1945-60, and ask himself what his reaction would be to that period of wallpaper design. We have seen slides of the wonderful work from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and finished with the productions of to-day. I wonder

what a historian of the future will think of the last few? I refer particularly to design and not to new techniques.

THE LECTURER: I think one can have very great respect for the designs and craftsmanship of a former period and still be prepared to march forward. The Chairman referred earlier to my schizophrenia! I think, whilst having great respect for the achievements of the past, one must still go ahead, producing interesting new designs. That is why I, myself, can appreciate this tremendous wealth of work which artists and designers turned out, and which was wanted by the public at large. But whilst catering for the public at large you have still got to keep one eye open for the current vital trends of to-day. I deliberately showed the last wallpaper by Mr. Humphrey Spender as being challenging, and yet I think probably in one hundred years from now it will have a great interest.

MR. E. R. BEECHER: Could the lecturer tell us something about the preparation of the paper, and the kind of adhesive substance that was used in the production of flock wallpapers in the eighteenth century, and say whether any fundamental change has been made in procedures or in the materials used for producing the same sort of wallpapers to-day?

THE LECTURER: I may have led some people to conclude that there has not been very much improvement in wallpaper manufacture since the eighteenth century, but of course in the manufacture of flock wallpapers great improvements have been made. It was pretty rudimentary two hundred years ago, although quite efficiently done: the fine shearings of the wool, or whatever it was, were all put into a little canvas box and the box was beaten, which agitated all these fibres so that they stuck to the adhesive. To-day, of course, they are perfection really, and there is no doubt that this is one of the processes where I think modern wallpaper manufacture is much better than the eighteenth century. But if you think I am going to tell you exactly how flock wallpaper is made, I am afraid you are rather mistaken!

MR. A. J. CHALMERS: I wonder whether you could make any comment on the design of the more modernistic papers which are coming from abroad, mainly from the Continent; what is your impression of those papers as compared with the English equivalents?

THE LECTURER: It is important that we should see what is going on on the Continent because one must depend on a spur of that kind. I am sure most of them are interesting, novel and peculiar to the Continent, but I have very great faith in the abilities of English designers to meet this new feeling which every now and again crops up from abroad. I think in the next year or two you will see, not a slavish sort of imitation of Continental styles but a really vigorous English style, which is far more important.

MRS. AUDREY PAUL-JONES: During the eighteenth century when artists were unknown, so much rich design was being done. Do you think that the loss of anonymity will benefit us or that people will tend to choose for the name of the artist rather than for the look of the paper? Taste is, in any event, so much a matter of fashion.

THE LECTURER: I think that a good designer and the work that he or she is doing is entitled to be known. It is a strange thing, but as soon as you give the name of the designer it seems to add something to the design itself. I do not think that the designer can be entirely left out of the picture.

MR. LEON JOINER: I think perhaps the last questioner might have had in mind the fact that the lecturer showed the paper designed by Graham Sutherland. The question is, will it sell because it is by Graham Sutherland or because it is good

design? Graham Sutherland is a great artist but the design Mr. Entwisle showed was not all that good.

THE LECTURER: This is a very controversial subject. Who knows that in sixty or a hundred years time that design of Graham Sutherland may not be considered quite outstanding? It was quite unusual in 1930 or 1940 when it was produced. I have provocatively shown these kinds of design among my illustrations, and I think we can be fairly certain of looking back at them with interest, whereas we should probably be glad to forget quite a few of the more conventional types of designs.

MR. PETER TOSELAND: Does the lecturer think that the use of wallpapers in educational institutions is a good thing? I see so much wallpaper damaged within a short time of being placed on the wall that I wonder whether it is worth the expense and care.

THE LECTURER: In what kind of institutions?

MR. TOSELAND: Any school.

THE LECTURER: To-day we are producing wallpaper of a very durable character, and I am certain that it is a suitable medium for use in schools. Paper is very durable, and a lot of damage can be done to wallpaper without its being seen as readily as it can be seen on a painted wall. I think it is quite a suitable medium of decoration to-day.

MR. TOSELAND: I can only say then that I think the architects are not using the correct type of wallpaper.

THE CHAIRMAN: Our lecturer said to me before he arrived here that he was afraid his lecture would be undramatic. Well, I have enjoyed every word of it, and I have been suitably provoked by the pictures that he put on. I do hope that you have been, too. I thought the lecture was so easy on the ear. May I say that Eric Entwisle has written quite a number of books, and that you need not fear that they are going to be as dry as dust, any more than his lecture was; far from it, they are extremely readable to the layman. On behalf of us all, I thank the lecturer.

*The vote of thanks to the Lecturer was carried with acclamation and, another having been accorded to the Chairman upon the proposal of Professor R. Y. Goodden, Master of the Faculty of Royal Designers for Industry, the meeting then ended.*

# HISTORICAL FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CANADIAN NATIONALISM

*An Address by*

W. STANFORD REID, Th.M., Ph.D.

*Associate Professor of History, McGill University, delivered  
to the first meeting of the Society held in Montreal, on  
Thursday, 9th February, 1961, with Monsignor Irénée  
Lussier, P.D., L.Th., L.Ph., D.C.L., LL.D., Recteur de  
l'Université de Montreal, in the Chair*

## THE LECTURE

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests and Fellows of the Royal Society of Arts. I feel highly honoured by being asked to speak to you at this first meeting of the Royal Society of Arts held in the City of Montreal, but I must also confess that I approach the task with a certain amount of diffidence, if not actual fear. My mixed feelings are partially because of the distinguished company seated before me, but also partially because of the subject which, in a moment of weakness, I chose as my topic. It would perhaps have been safer to select some theme from Scotland or England in the far-off paleolithic age about which few people know anything, rather than Canadian nationalism which, to say the least, is a difficult, if not a contentious subject at the present time. Yet as an English-speaking Quebecer whose family has lived in this province since 1828, and much of that time on the land, I may perhaps be able to speak with both understanding and objectivity.

When I mentioned my topic to a friend the other day, he, being a very practical man, not an academic, looked at me with an air of superiority and said that only a university professor could give a lecture on the 'non-existent'. I trust, therefore, that you will bear with me if at times I should seem to make somewhat general statements which require further documentation. Some historians make a speciality of such statements, and perhaps we are all occasionally guilty of such a misdemeanour.

While the practical man may speak of Canadian nationalism as non-existent, one has to face the fact that politically and internationally Canada is a nation. This is inescapable. Consequently, it seems only proper that we should look at ourselves to see if we possess any national consciousness to-day which may in the future develop into a full-blown, but we trust a commonsense, nationalism. . . .  
. . . One may well ask whether or not Canadians have a sense of nationality to-day.

---

\* For reasons of space, a portion of the address has been omitted here.

To this we must reply of course that there is some national identity, even if at times we may think it very weak and feeble, but in order to estimate it adequately it would seem that we must examine the historical factors which have both opposed and favoured the growth of Canadian national feeling.

#### HISTORICAL FACTORS ADVERSE TO CANADIAN NATIONALISM

In attempting to discuss factors which have had an adverse effect upon the growth of Canadian nationalism one should look for those which have tended to retard both the processes of differentiation and of integration. These have indeed been numerous and at times almost overpowering. Consequently one must endeavour to see them in their proper light.

The first factor which has worked against the development of a Canadian national feeling, has been the way in which Canada, as we know it to-day, came into existence. One hardly needs to give a detailed description of what happened in the 1760s except to say that after French settlers had lived along the St. Lawrence River for over one hundred years, in the course of the Seven Years War Britain captured the country and took it as part of the spoils falling to her as victor in the struggle. This established two groups within the country: the older, primarily agricultural, French speaking, Roman Catholic element and the newer, primarily middle-class, commercial, English speaking, Protestant element. One might find it rather difficult to prove that the French Canadians had any strong ties with or sentimental attachment to France. Rather, they seem to have thought of themselves more as *Canadiens et Catholiques*, attached to their land, their families and their Church. Nor did the settlers from Great Britain feel a very strong nationalist sentiment, although what they did possess was bound up principally with the economic aspects of their activities, while they left other matters mainly to the Government officials appointed to administer the country. This relative isolationism comes out clearly in the reaction of the two groups to the American Revolution and the failure of the revolutionaries to involve Canada in the rebellion against Britain. One receives the impression that both groups only wished to be left alone and had very little either imperialist outlook or revolutionary fervour.

As one studies the relations of these French and English Canadians prior to 1800 in the Montreal area, one discovers that considerable co-mingling of the two groups took place. For instance, intermarriage was not uncommon. Moreover, French Roman Catholics attended English Protestant schools and vice versa in order to obtain a knowledge of the other language. In these and many other ways a certain common understanding developed between the two groups, resulting in something of a common outlook.

By the opening years of the nineteenth century, through various influences, this trend began to weaken and break down with the rise of two nationalisms, French Canadian and English Canadian. American nationalism itself had a considerable influence in this, since by talking in terms of 'a manifest destiny' it stimulated some French-Canadian leaders to think of complete independence from Britain, and perhaps from English-speaking Canada. Blended with this, the influence of the romantic movement in Europe made itself felt with the stress upon one race, one



language and one religion as the primary denotations of a nation. The arrival, or the passage through Lower Canada, of the United Empire Loyalists forced to leave the United States because of their opposition to the revolution, gave the tendency a further impulse. This element, because of its sufferings for the maintenance of the imperial connection produced what one might call the 'Toronto nationalistic outlook', more royalist than the king and very often strongly opposed to French Canadianism as something clearly different, if not actually inferior. Part of the outcome of this change in Anglo-French outlook was the Rebellion of 1837. Although a rising took place in Ontario at the same time as it did in Quebec, because the Ontario episode involved no linguistic, racial or religious differences, it left few scars. In Quebec, however, religion, race and language did appear to draw a dividing line between the two sides, and although this was by no means the true interpretation, a heritage remained to provide grounds for misunderstanding and conflict for the next one hundred and twenty-five years.

The outcome of this unfortunate episode was what one might almost call a stagnation of nationalistic development which brought about a certain amount of cultural recession. From 1840 on, French and English both within and outside the present province of Quebec tended to move in their own limited circles and spheres without having any effective contact with each other. The language barrier which for economic reasons a good many French Canadians felt they must at least partially overcome, the English-speaking element never even bothered to consider. Throughout the last century as one travelled west, except within certain specific areas of French-Canadian settlement, French as a native language was regarded not infrequently as a badge of inferiority. Religion also had its part in this separation of the two groups, for parallel with the Roman Catholic revival experienced in this province during the latter part of the century, a corresponding Protestant revival took place, resulting on both sides in a growth of mutual intolerance.

Within the two groups' own boundaries cultural development by differentiation and integration continued, it is true, but it usually had the effect of isolating the groups from each other, rather than of bringing them together. French-Canadian Roman Catholics, generally working the land, formed a self-contained cultural entity by themselves. Although Anglo-Saxons, usually Protestant, settled to a certain extent in such agricultural areas as the Eastern Townships of Quebec, they seem to have gravitated to the urban centres, while later British farmers who brought about an opening up of the farm lands of Ontario seem to have adopted the attitudes of the middle-class English-speaking Canadian in the towns. The one group which did not seem able to find rest at any point was that of the Irish who, while speaking English, generally disliked the English people intensely, and were Roman Catholics. This made them suspect both by the French and by the Anglo-Saxon Protestants. One cannot be too surprised, therefore, that this element has continually provided an almost revolutionary force within the country.

From about 1860 onwards settlement spread right across the land to the Pacific. Because of Canada's very vastness cultural integration became increasingly difficult. One finds what one may call isolated pockets of human culture scattered along the American border and perhaps further north, usually centred on major economic

urban areas, but without any real consciousness of the rest of the country, its needs or its aspirations. Some years ago *MacLeans Magazine* published a series of maps of Canada depicting how the country looked to residents in its different regions. While drawn in a jocular vein, these maps possessed, nevertheless, an important element of truth as they demonstrated quite clearly the very limited vision of most of the Canadian population concerning other, and very often unknown, parts of the country. Immigrants travelling from England to Vancouver usually have no knowledge and very little interest in Canada east of the Rockies. They may know the west coast and England with which they maintain close ties, but all the area in between is virtually no-man's land. As one drives into Victoria after following the Malahat Drive one passes under an arch bearing the words, 'A little bit of Old England'. This perhaps demonstrates the attitude more clearly than anything else. If one wishes for further proof, one should have tea some afternoon during the summer at Victoria's Empress Hotel, where one sees England of the 1890s fully displayed in the retired Indian Civil Servants who still have afternoon tea in the way to which they were accustomed at the turn of the present century in 'the Old Country'. In the middle west not infrequently the vital connection is with the United States, economically and very often emotionally, the same holding true of the Maritime Provinces; in both cases the reason being geographical propinquity. The very size of Canada has worked against the growth of a Canadian nationalism.

Added to this, the various governments' attempts prior to 1920 to bring population into the country militated against any national feeling. Settlers came from all over the world, which would seem to be a natural and a proper thing. On the other hand, only too frequently because of lack of education they had no means of communicating with either the French or the English population already established. For fear of causing trouble governments exerted little or no pressure upon them to learn either language, and as a result in their own little enclaves out on the prairies, or for that matter even in the major cities, they developed little Ruthenias, little Hungaries or little Polands which thought and talked primarily in terms of their own culture and their own historic backgrounds. Only in recent years has this begun to change. Consequently, until the Second World War little had been accomplished in integrating these elements into a larger Canadian unity.

These form but a few of the factors which have militated against the development and the growth of Canadian national consciousness. At the same time one must see that they show only one side of the coin. Canada does not, it is true, possess a nationalism which is either of the rationalistic or romantic type at the present time. Indeed to most people Canada has no nationalism at all. It does not even have its own flag. Yet other forces have also been at work pointing to a growing sense of Canadian national unity. To these we must now turn our attention.

#### HISTORICAL FACTORS FAVOURING CANADIAN NATIONALISM

In attempting to see some of the historical factors which have helped to develop a Canadian nationalism, one must keep in mind certain points. Nationalism results from historical growth and Canada has not had much time to develop as a country.

After all, as a nation stretching from sea to sea she is not yet one hundred years old. Added to this, since 1867 she has experienced relatively few dramatic moments, whether beneficial or disastrous. The expansion into the west, supervised by the Royal Northwest Mounted Police, took place in a relatively peaceful and orderly manner, and she has experienced nothing like the American Civil War, for which we may be duly thankful. One can hardly experience any surprise, therefore, that the average Canadian possesses little national consciousness. He is just too young.

Nevertheless, as one looks over the past sixty years, one can see signs of the growth of a specific Canadian culture. One must admit that it has by no means reached maturity, but certain indications show that it at least possesses some life. During the twentieth century, the French Canadian has been extending his interest into all fields of national development, becoming increasingly involved in the operations of large business ventures and in national affairs. One might perhaps mention as examples such men as Laurier, LaPointe and St. Laurent in the political field. But aside from government one notices that the French-Canadian society is undergoing a process of differentiation, expansion and deepening of interest in the life of Canada as a whole. At the same time, the Anglo-Canadian has extended his own cultural interests beyond the matter of business and politics, so that increasingly contacts have taken place between the two major elements of the population, resulting in the exchange of ideas and in the growth of mutual respect. Perhaps one example of this is the establishment of the College Militaire at St. Jean, Quebec, which seeks to be a bilingual officers' training college.

Naturally in this process of cultural differentiation, integration is not easy. Coming from different cultural backgrounds which have been intensified rather than weakened by the process of migration and settlement, conflicts of ideas, of points of view, of loyalties and of patterns of action, cannot but result. Nevertheless, one can see how integration has taken place in other countries, notably Switzerland, where despite great diversity a national culture and a consciousness of national unity have grown up. Although Canada has some disadvantages unknown by the Swiss, such as an extremely large country, other factors have operated within our history and are active to-day in the development of a healthy nationalism.

One of these forces is education. Education itself accelerates the process of differentiation by training men and women for various spheres of work, but at the same time it not infrequently helps to develop their mutual integration by giving them a sense of a common objective. Perhaps even the Quebec universities' recent differences with the late provincial premier, Mr. Duplessis, did much to bring both English and French educational institutions closer together to establish a common understanding. The spread of education which has taken place after each of the World Wars has undoubtedly influenced Canadians by stimulating not only a greater individuality but also a greater consciousness of their national heritage.

Another influence toward a growing national self-consciousness may be found in the aesthetic or artistic development of the past years. Even before 1753 the French Canadian had developed a folk art in sculpture, in music and in other aspects of the aesthetic sphere, but the Anglo-Saxon, interested in business or struggling for a livelihood on a not too friendly soil, often had little time for such activities.

During the past thirty years or more this situation has changed, with the result that in the artistic field both elements have drawn together in an attempt to establish what one might almost call Canadian art. One of the examples which immediately springs to mind is that of the 'group of Seven' in the plastic arts, but one can also think of the work of Madame Jeannine Beaubien and M. Jacques La Roche, both Fellows of our society, and of Gratien Gelinas in the theatre, the Royal Winnipeg Ballet, the Stratford Festival and the various symphony orchestras now in existence from Halifax to Vancouver.

One could mention many other examples of the cultural evolution of Canada which both manifest and help to increase a Canadian national outlook, but perhaps the most important in some ways is that of the growth of business relations between French, English and members of other ethnic groups. The late mayor of Montreal, Camilien Houde, once declared that the French Canadians were but hewers of wood and drawers of water to the Anglo-Saxons. Typical of Mr. Houde's exaggerations, this was by no means true in his own day and had not been for many years. To-day it is even less true, if one can use that expression, since French-Canadian businessmen now wield a considerable influence in our country's economic life, as do the representatives of the Dutch, the Hungarian and other ethnic groups. In so doing they inevitably come into contact with each other, and so begin to develop a more 'Canadian' point of view.

Yet when speaking of the internal developments and the evolution of our Canadian culture by differentiation and integration, we do not cover the whole problem, for external stimuli have also aided us during the past half century. No doubt the process of nationalization, if one may so call it, of the Canadian would eventually take place over a long period, but at a rather slow pace. External stimuli, on the other hand, tend to force the pace and to face Canadians with the fact that they are Canadians.

One factor which might be called internal or structural to our culture, or might be regarded as an external stimulus, is the great improvement during the past century of communications throughout our country. The establishment of the Canadian Pacific Railway, although accompanied by scandal and political chicanery, nevertheless did much to give a certain Canadian consciousness to the people living throughout the west. The Canadian National Railway and T.C.A. have further added to this sense, as one can now travel in five or six hours from Montreal to Vancouver, thus gaining something of an understanding of the country by what is literally a bird's-eye view. As Canadians travel about their land they obtain a greater understanding of it and a greater appreciation not only of its vastness but of its wealth and its physical glory. Added to the quicker means of travel, radio, television and the like play their parts. The fact that both radio and TV programmes now teach French on English-speaking stations is perhaps a sign of our growing national consciousness.

Perhaps more obvious than the development of communications, another stimulus, this time certainly from the outside, has come from Canada's two large and wealthy neighbours. In the nineteenth century Britain's culture, her wealth and her international position gave her the power to influence and in fact to dominate

the development of a Canadian cultural pattern. Towards the end of the century this dominance began to break down, but after the First World War the United States assumed the rôle of a kindly, but dictatorial, step-mother. As a result, Canadians have been imperialists, annexationists, and when in revolt against both, nationalists or *petits laurentienists*. Yet while some have desired to keep a much closer tie with Britain and others union with the United States, a growing number of Canadians have tended to demand independence from both. The present wave of Canadianism demanding that we have a larger say in, and control over, our country's industrial development, provides a typical example. It hardly reflects an anti-American attitude so much as it manifests a growing sense of Canadian nationality. External pressure has in this way helped to evoke a manifestation of 'Canadianism' which, while opposing *petit laurentienism*, also endeavours to withstand both British and American imperialism.

Apart from Canadian relations with Britain and the United States, international affairs as a whole have also forced Canadians to think more concretely of themselves as a nation. Since 1900 Canada has participated in four wars as well as in a number of police actions, and in each case has borne her part manfully and effectively. The Canadian operations at places such as Ypres and Passchendael during the First World War, at Dieppe, Caen and Aarnhem, as well as in various other engagements during the Second World War, have given Canadians a pride in their military history, which the activities of the R.C.A.F. and the R.C.N. have further increased. Added to this, the decisive rôle which she has on occasion played in the United Nations as the leader of the middle powers, in particular when Mr. Pearson made his proposals with regard to Suez and when Canada participated in the Laos commission, has also stimulated Canadians to think of themselves as Canadians. Thus gradually Canada has created an image of herself in the world. Perhaps to us the image is fairly dim compared to its concreteness in the eyes of the rest of the world, where not infrequently its symbol is a polka-dot bow tie rather than the maple leaf. Here again, external forces and external necessities have inculcated Canadians with a new sense of their national existence and their national character.

Since 1920, non-Anglo-Saxon immigration has provided a further impetus in this direction. While the earlier arrivals very often tended to avoid integration into the Canadian community, most of those reaching Canadian shores since 1920 have come strongly imbued with European nationalistic views. Hence when they have landed in Canada they have expected to find the same type of outlook here, but not infrequently have felt disappointed. Their own nationalistic background, however, tends to make them desire full integration within our nation, so that one finds that frequently they become more Canadian than those Canadians whose families have been in this country for 200 years. Coupled with this, they have brought to our land new skills, new arts, new points of view which have led to an increased differentiation within our culture, but at the same time they have by their nationalistic outlook accelerated our integration.

Perhaps even more important than these two influences is the fact that since 1945, while the older immigrants, say from Holland, have often desired to maintain

much of their traditional way of life and thought, the younger Dutch immigrants who have come here as children of five or six wish to become Canadians almost overnight. They seek to show that they are not different from, and certainly not inferior to, the other Canadians. One cannot but experience amazement when one sees how rapidly these young people acclimatize themselves and conform to the external Canadian pattern wherever they live. In Edmonton, for instance, where there is a large Dutch element, although many of the older people cannot talk English either fluently or without an accent, the younger people are completely Canadian in their language, their dress and their habits of thought. But the important thing is that they are neither English nor French. While they are of Dutch origin, they are first of all Canadians. Here one finds one of the strongest stimuli to the development of a true Canadian nationalism.

Such are some of the forces tending towards the development of Canadian nationalism. There have been and there remain many obstacles to a truly Canadian national outlook and point of view. But differentiation and corresponding integration within our culture but force upon us the fact that we are Canadian. This of course does not mean that one ethnic group should seek a position of absolute dominance, nor should a sense of Canadian nationality destroy the bilingual or even multi-lingual character of our culture. These things indeed may eventually be the very glory of our nationalism, for our differentiation should show itself not only in our daily work, in our artistic activities, but even in our linguistic facility and variety. From such a background we should eventually produce a strong, virile and yet level-headed nationalism.

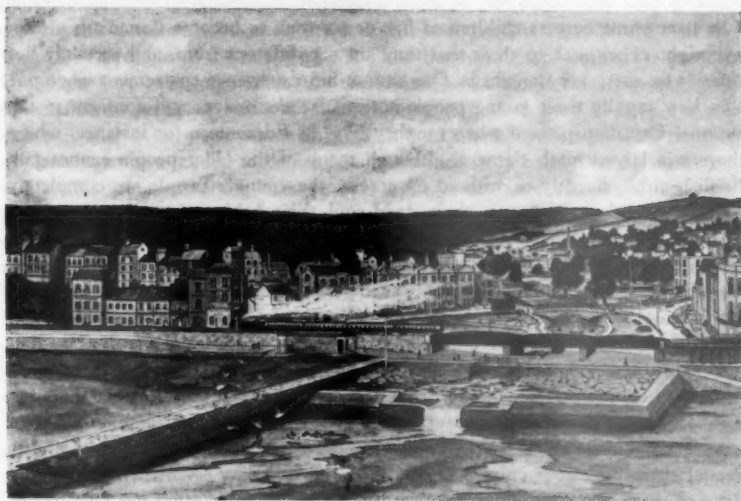
Thus although Canadian nationalism to-day may be a rather weak and tender plant we may surely look forward to the day when Canadians from St. John, Newfoundland, to Vancouver, B.C., recognize each other not merely as fellow citizens but—whatever their language, race or creed—acknowledge each other as members of the same nation. This will be a long process which may require another one hundred to one hundred and fifty years. The speaker feels, however, that if men see this our nation not as the product of haphazard forces, but as part of the purpose of Him who is creator, sustainer and redeemer, this process should not take too long, for with a truly Christian understanding of our responsibilities to each other and to God, we shall be able to establish a nation in the truest sense of the word; a nation of which our descendants may well be proud.

## GENERAL NOTES

### ROYAL DRAWING SOCIETY'S EXHIBITION: AWARD OF THIS SOCIETY'S BRONZE MEDAL

The Royal Society of Arts bronze medal, which is offered in connection with the Royal Drawing Society's annual exhibition of Children's Art, has this year been awarded to William J. J. Hitchcock for the picture of Dawlish, Devonshire, reproduced on page 476. Mr. Hitchcock is 17 years old and a pupil of Ealing College; his painting was chosen for the award from among some 200 works included in the exhibition by Mr. William Johnstone, formerly Principal of the L.C.C. Central School of Arts and Crafts, and Mr. R. R. Tomlinson, President of the Royal Drawing Society.





*Dawlish from the sea, by William Hitchcock*

The exhibition of Children's Art may be seen at the Guildhall, London, from 1st to 13th May on all weekdays, 10 a.m. to 4.30 p.m., admission free.

#### FORMATION OF A SOCIETY FOR FOLK LIFE STUDIES

Although various existent national bodies and local societies in this country are interested in different aspects of folk life and social history, there is at present no single society concerned with the whole field of these studies. A recent announcement suggests that this deficiency will be made good before long. A conference to discuss the formation of a Society for Folk Life Studies will be held in London from 6th to 8th September next, following immediately upon the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

Membership of the proposed Society will be open to all who are interested in the traditional patterns of life in both urban and rural communities, and especially in local dialects, agriculture, crafts, folklore and customs. The programme of the inaugural conference will include a symposium on 'The Present State of Folk Life Studies in Britain', in the course of which representatives of universities, museums and other organizations will discuss the work being carried out in various centres throughout the country.

Accommodation for those attending the conference has been reserved at a university hall of residence. Further particulars of the programme may be obtained from J. Geraint Jenkins, Hon. Secretary, Welsh Folk Museum, St. Fagans, Cardiff.

#### EXHIBITION OF ART IN ROMAN BRITAIN

It is announced that the most comprehensive exhibition of art in Roman Britain ever to be assembled, and the first to be held in the City of London, will be shown at the Goldsmiths' Hall from 27th June to 22nd July. The exhibition is designed to illustrate as fully as possible the varied aspects of artistic production in this country



during Roman rule in the first four centuries A.D. All the works to be shown were discovered in Britain. They will include a large collection of sculpture, painted plaster, table-ware in bronze and silver, glass-ware, pottery, and other smaller objects.

The occasion of the exhibition is the Jubilee of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. Members of that Society may visit the exhibition without payment, but for the general public there will be an admission charge of 2s 6d each for adults, and 1s 6d each for students and schoolchildren.

#### 1961 WAVERLEY GOLD MEDAL ESSAY COMPETITION

Once again this year, the periodical *Research* is sponsoring the Waverley Gold Medal Essay Competition, which is designed to encourage scientists and engineers to write about their work in a manner readily intelligible both to other members of their professions and to laymen interested in science and technology. The Waverley Gold Medal, and a sum of £100, will be awarded for the best essay of about 3,000 words, describing a new project or practical development in pure or applied science, giving an outline of the scientific background, the experimental basis and the potential or actual application of the idea to industry or their importance to society. In assessing the entries the judges will pay particular attention to presentation and style.

A second prize of £50 is offered, and also a special prize of £50 for the best essay from a competitor under the age of 30 on 31st July, 1961, which is the closing date for the receipt of entries. Full particulars and entry forms should be obtained from the Editor, *Research*, 88 Kingsway, London, W.C.2.

### OBITUARY

We record with regret the death of the following Fellows of the Society.

#### MR. ALEXANDER COCHRAN

Mr. Alexander Cochran, C.B.E., who died at Paignton on 28th January, had a distinguished career as an engineer in India. After leaving Shrewsbury School he joined Burn & Co. Ltd., in Howrah, in 1902, and subsequently became a partner in the Calcutta branch of the firm. He was three times Chairman of the Indian Engineering Association, and had also been Chairman of the Indian Rivercraft Board and Vice-President of the Institution of Engineers, India. In 1921 and 1923 he served on the Bengal Legislative Council, and in 1924 as a Member of the Indian Legislative Assembly. He was made C.B.E. in 1919, and elected a Fellow of this Society the same year.

#### MR. THOMAS FEARNLEY

Mr. Thomas Fearnley, who died on 10th January, aged 81, was a former President of the Norwegian Shipowners' Association. In 1911 he helped to found the Norwegian Africa-Australia Line, and subsequently started his own shipping services to America, East and West Africa, and the Mediterranean. During both world wars he led Norwegian shipping missions to this country for important negotiations. He was made Honorary K.B.E. in 1920.

Mr. Fearnley was first President of the Norwegian Lawn Tennis Association, and had for a number of years been a member of the International Olympic Committee. He became a Fellow of this Society in 1938.

#### SIR JAMES SHELLEY

Sir James Shelley, K.B.E., who died at Amersham on 18th March, aged 76, made a memorable contribution to the academic and cultural life of New Zealand.

He was born and educated in England, and after leaving Christ's College,

Cambridge, held a number of teaching appointments in this country, including the Chair of Education at the University of Southampton, and the post of Chief Instructor at the War Office School of Education, Newmarket, during the latter part of the First World War. In 1920 he was appointed Professor of Education at Canterbury College, New Zealand. Here his influence was soon felt, in university circles and beyond. Believing that the benefits of education should be extended as widely and in as many guises as possible, he laid particular stress on extra-mural courses, and came to take a leading part in encouraging both the development of amateur drama in New Zealand and the formation of the national collections of paintings, of which he was an informed critic. When, in 1936, he was chosen by the Government to be the first Director of the New Zealand Broadcasting Service, it was generally acknowledged that it would have been hard to find another man so well equipped for the task. During the next thirteen years Shelley indeed proved that he possessed the necessary intellectual and moral virtues alike to guide the activities of this powerful medium of communication and to form for it standards on which his successors could build with assurance.

Shelley was made K.B.E. in 1949, the year of his retirement, when he also returned to England. He was elected a Fellow of this Society in 1950.

#### DR. OLEG YADOFF

Dr. Oleg Yadoff, a distinguished physicist and engineer who had an outstanding record of active service in both world wars, died recently, aged 58. A Russian by birth, he volunteered for the Army as a youth in 1917, and after the outbreak of the Revolution served with the White Russian forces until forced into exile. Making his home thereafter in France, he became a naturalized French citizen, and when war came again in 1939 joined the French Air Force. For his part in the defence of Orléans he received the Cross of Knight of the Legion of Honour and the Croix de Guerre with Palm. After the German victories in the field he played a notable part, through the underground, in assisting in the escape of Allied prisoners-of-war. For his gallantry in these operations he received the American Medal of Freedom and, from King George VI, the King's Medal for Service in the Cause of Freedom. The latter decoration also recognized Yadoff's contribution, as an engineer, to the Allied advance into Germany in 1944-5. After the war, when settled in the United States, he founded what is now the American Order of the Association Nationale des Croix de Guerre, and he was elected President of the Order in 1959.

Yadoff graduated from the Universities of Grénoble and Paris, where he obtained Doctorates in physical and mathematical sciences. During his professional career he won numerous high French and American distinctions both in the industrial field and in that of education and research, and was elected to membership of the leading scientific societies in the U.S.A. Since 1957 he had been President of the Applied Physics Research Foundation, Inc. He became a Life Fellow of this Society in 1952.

### NOTES ON BOOKS

LETTER DESIGN IN THE GRAPHIC ARTS. *By Mortimer Leach. New York, Reinhold, 1960. (London, Chapman & Hall, 96s net)*

DECORATIVE ALPHABETS AND INITIALS. *Edited by Alexander Nesbitt. New York, Dover Publications. \$2.25*

The first of the books under review is called, inaccurately, *Letter Design in the Graphic Arts*. In fact it concerns itself exclusively with lettering in advertisements. This is not yet the only Graphic Art in the United States.

The visual appearance of advertisements is of importance to all of us as readers,

and to many of us as makers or sellers of commodities. These interests are not, I submit, opposed. It has always been my belief that in advertising it is more persuasive, and so more profitable, to talk, even sometimes to sing, than it is to shout.

In the '20s and '30s the advertiser took the place once held by King, Duke and Doge as the patron of type-design. Scores of types were produced—some of them revivals, many of them new designs of great merit. Among them were the Gill sans-serif or 'block' letters. In this country, sad to relate, these letters have advanced from a use in 9.5 per cent of press advertisements in 1928 to a use to-day in no less than 87 per cent. Block letters have become in England an automatic habit, a rut. They defy the good rule of choosing type-faces that harmonize, by association or by grace, with their subjects—be it advertisements of steel scaffolding or of perfumes. The 7 to 1 chance to-day is that any advertiser of any product will find his own and his competitor's advertisement appearing in virtually the same type-face; and that type, in its small sizes, a poorly legible one.

In American advertising things are very different—not always better, but very different. There, as this book demonstrates, we find the opposite extreme. The large number of elegant type-faces that we ignore are there used—and often abused. Mr. Leach's book is a kind of guide and incentive to the abuse; though in one contribution it is somewhat sadly admitted that 'with a low art budget the use of type often becomes a necessity'.

The American devoutly desires that his advertisement should be in all ways different from the next man's. He is not content, therefore, with the variety that a wealth of type-faces offers. He—in the person of the Art Director and the Lettering Artist—chooses one of these faces, and then changes it. This is his method, shown in dozens of examples by Mr. Leach. He will set his advertisement in type, and then copy the letters, introducing his own variations. Sometimes he will enlarge a type-face photographically before he amends it, in order to emphasize the crudities that this enlargement brings. Or he will maintain the original letter-forms but 'bounce' them—a term new to me—which means that he will so place them as to make the letters within a word rock up and down a little. This, one of Mr. Leach's contributors says, gives a 'homey' air to the advertisement. . . .

The sad thing about this book is that it properly recognizes the place of typography in creating the 'brand-image' of the commodity or enterprise advertised; but it so exaggerates it as to encourage deviations that worsen good type-faces and make them less legible in order to achieve an effect exclusive to the advertiser in question. I think that even with its excesses this is a far better habit than the English rut of block-letters; and one must not be too much harassed in this view by the occasional pretentiousness-cum-naïveté of the arguments for it that are set out in page after page of this book. Three quotations will show what I mean:

After the phrase 'The World's Most Beautifully Proportioned Cars' was first approved at the Ford Division . . . it seemed obvious that these words suggested a deeper and richer meaning than ordinary type, no matter how elegant, could illuminate. . . . So we went all the way back to Trajan. [P. 99.]

These new decanters and apothecary jars for Cresca candies doubled the price of the product but kept the sales at the same level. This highly successful example of what better packaging can do. . . . [P. 150.]

A redesigned form for the word 'Cologne' was selected for its masculine quality and also because it reflects the corporate personality of the Mennen Company. [P. 145.]

The many illustrations are accompanied by observations, sometimes from the 'Lettering Artist' himself, sometimes by the Studio or Corporation by which he is employed. It is noticeable that when the Lettering Artist speaks for himself he makes intelligible his approach to his problem; but when a corporate body speaks it usually confines itself to claims for the brilliance and success of the designs it has produced. In the section of the book concerned with package design far too much space is given

to photographs and biographies of the executives of Design Studios. These can serve no interest other than the sale of the book to these gentlemen as part of their promotion material.

*Decorative Alphabets and Initials* reproduces '91 complete alphabets and a total of 3,924 initials'. There is an air of scholarship and care in the forewords, the underlines and the bibliography, which fortunately makes the checking of these numbers superfluous. Many series of initials unknown to me are shown, and only a few of my friends are absent. In a short introduction Professor Nesbitt of the Rhode Island School of Design finds room to say that Baskerville jolted 'the careless and smug English printer'—an unacceptable generalization. But in covering many centuries of printing within some five thousand words generalizations must be forgiven; and most of the summaries Professor Nesbitt makes are successful.

FRANCIS MEYNELL

LOUIS XVI FURNITURE. By F. J. B. Watson. London, Tiranti, 1960. 35s net

The public opening of Waddesdon Manor in the summer of 1959 drew fresh attention to the richness and extent of the collections of French eighteenth-century furniture still held in this country, which has long offered opportunities second to none for seeing fine examples. The literature on the subject available in English shows no such abundance, however. The valuable contributions of Lady Dilke, Molinier, Laking and de Ricci appeared before the First World War, and they have had few successors. In 1956 came the first major English work to be published for many years, the present author's Catalogue of the Furniture in the Wallace Collection. Mr. Watson's new book, though reflecting the erudition and care which distinguished its predecessor, is on a much smaller scale and has a different purpose. He has written a guide to the development of the Louis XVI style in movable furniture made principally of wood—bronzes and wall-panelling are excluded—which was created in Paris for the French Crown and fashionable Society during the last three decades of the monarchy. Within these limits are considered the influences, artistic, historic and personal, which helped to mould the neo-classic style in France, its effect on English taste and vice versa, the evolution of forms, the techniques of furniture-making, and the special character and organization of the Parisian trade guilds concerned therein—all in prelude to very informative notes on some 240 illustrations of pieces drawn from Royal, public and private collections in Europe and the United States. These exemplify the principal types of both case and seat furniture in use. The variations of function devised to accommodate the sophisticated habits of the *beau monde* can be puzzling, and it is one of Mr. Watson's incidental achievements to have imposed a degree of order and intelligibility on the often whimsical terminology of the age.

The advantages of his concentration on furniture carried out for great patrons are several. It follows that only works of the highest quality, to which the most accomplished *ébénistes* and *menuisiers* of the day applied all their skill in design, need be included. The majority of pieces illustrated are signed works, and the reader is thus assisted to recognize personal style and artistry and (notably in the case of Riesenc.) to observe stages in its development. Furthermore, the furniture supplied for the Crown is uniquely well documented in the inventories of the Royal collections, so that the risks of dating individual pieces on stylistic grounds alone are largely eliminated. Acknowledging his debt to the researches of M. Pierre Verlet, Mr. Watson in many cases not only identifies the responsible designers and craftsmen, but establishes delivery dates and traces the subsequent movements of furniture in the Royal châteaux. A particularly interesting fruit of this investigation is the history of the commodes (pl. 43-6) originally made by Stöckel for the Comte de Provence, and transformed for the Crown, with difficulty and much expense, by a team of specialists

including Beneman, whose basic design they were formerly considered to be. This glimpse of the *Garde Meuble's* transactions by itself suggests something of the strain on court finances, and fits the pattern of those vain attempts at retrenchment which punctuated the last years of the reign. Yet surely even the most Benthamite of historians, looking at the photographs collected here of embellishments for Versailles, or the Petit Trianon, or St. Cloud, would soften: prodigality has not often had so magnificent an issue. It is a testimony to the French scale of values that so much of it survived the Revolution.

Of the aesthetic judgement shown by the chief recipients of this splendour there is less to be said. Marie Antoinette wished always to be in the latest mode; Louis XVI made it plain on his accession that he disliked the rococo; together they set the pace of extravagance. Neither of them seems to have taken sustained or informed interest in the fashioning of a new rectilinear style from the classic antique. More formative from the point of view of the Court, Mr. Watson suggests, was the part played by the Intendants of the *Garde Meuble*, especially Fontanieu (of whom one would like to know more than Mr. Watson has space to tell us). But his disciplined inquiry into the genesis and gradual expression of the style leads him to the conclusion that 'there was no single influence in neo-classicism in France comparable to Robert Adam in England'.

What the amateur student of furniture often lacks are opportunities for exercising his discrimination by close scrutiny and handling of outstanding works. In reading this book one is constantly aware that its author's acuity of perception has been developed in this way, and one feels a growing sense of obligation for an assembly of objects so aptly designed that they seem to idealize the amenities of domestic life.

J. S. S.

THE FORMS OF THINGS UNKNOWN. By Herbert Read. London, Faber, 1960. 25s net

Sir Herbert Read subtitles his new book 'Essays towards an Aesthetic Philosophy'. The papers comprising it, for the most part given successively at the Eranos Tagung, form a consideration of that region where psychology, philosophy and aesthetics meet. The author's theme is the validity, indeed the necessity if man is to be whole, of æsthetic experience and æsthetic values in a world dominated by scientific, technological, social and economic factors. The book is based upon a denial of the so-called 'scientific' philosopher's claim that cognitive content is lacking in artistic activity. 'What we must not admit', writes Sir Herbert, 'is that knowledge is only knowledge when it is based on those elements of perception that can be reduced to measurements and verified in a laboratory—so-called functional knowledge'. Again, 'The fundamental purpose of the artist is the same as that of the scientist: to state a fact'.

He goes on to renew his plea for the admission, in education, of non-vocal, non-conceptual but sensory modes of experience and comprehension, alongside the accepted linguistic modes of communication. His explorations, conducted from a Jungian stand-point, of the psychology of the creative process and the problem of value judgements in poetry and the visual arts, relate the book to his earlier volume, *Icon and Idea*. He is led, finally, to a Platonic-Tolstoyan renunciation of power and a Humanism based on love. En route—and I take a few points at random only to indicate the sort of ground over which Sir Herbert ranges—he crosses swords with Maritain; flirts with Yeats' discussion of the 'Great Year of the Ancients', that near-astrological conception in which the seasons are centuries long; dissects the writing of Coleridge's *Dejection*; and applies the 'principle of speculative volition' (a phrase of Stravinsky's) to abstract expressionism.

The artist states a fact. With the broad statement none of us connected with the arts is likely to disagree. The communication of an unambiguous fact, however, becomes increasingly difficult as art grows more personal. Sir Herbert leans towards

the Jungian conception of artistic creation as the product of a dynamic force of nature which uses the artist as its channel. 'What we must admire, in the modern artist, is the confidence with which he accepts as a gift from the unconscious, forms of whose significance he is not, at the creative moment, precisely aware.'

It so happens that I read *The Forms of Things Unknown* immediately after Professor Gombrich's brilliant *Art and Illusion*, which tackles the mystery of creation (in the visual arts) from the opposite pole: from the act of perception and the processes by which the sense impression is tested by the mind against familiar schemata until it is brought into accord with the most acceptable and 'read' in such and such a way. In the absence of jointly held criteria and schemata, communication between, say, the abstract expressionist painter and his public ceases, for there is no possible test by which one 'reading' of the image may be preferred to another. How far communication is effectively re-established by the substitution of archetypal or supposedly archetypal images, seems to me a moot point.

There is surely a limit, that is to say, to the extent to which the paraphernalia of psychology and speculation about the mysterious nature of the creative act can illuminate the work of art itself. (I confess that I still have the visual arts in mind.) It would be interesting to bring music, the other fully abstract art, into the discussion.) Read himself draws attention to the puerile incursions of Freud into the realm of art criticism. If the civilized world is to become visually literate it must, as Sir Herbert pleads, do so through non-linguistic apprehension. His book is stimulating and often eloquent but—and in this lies its inherent self-contradiction—it is itself an elaborate piece of linguistic and conceptual thinking.

MICHAEL MIDDLETON

INTELLIGENCE: ITS EVOLUTION AND FORMS. *By Gaston Viaud. London, Arrow Books (Arrow Science Series), 1960. Cloth, 10s 6d; Paper, 5s*

The differentiation of intelligence from learning, and learning from instinct, becomes more and more difficult as analysis of behaviour given these names goes on. No less than the other terms, intelligence has varied meanings according to the context in which it is used. Professor Viaud believes that sheltering within this name there are two kinds of intelligence: logical and conceptual intelligence, an attribute of man distinguishing him from animals, and practical intelligence, possessed in common by man and animals. A chimpanzee can fit sticks together to make a rod for drawing food to it, but it is rare for a chimpanzee to go out of sight of the food and collect a stick to add to the one it already has. If a stick is not physically present it does not exist for the monkey; thus it has no concept 'stick'. The use of intelligence tests for children rests upon the supposition that they can test the innate intelligence unaffected by the child's background or educational treatment. This has been shown to be wishful thinking, and indeed it is extremely difficult to divorce the effects of experience from inherited intelligent ability. Likewise, on the evidence presented in this book, it could be that Viaud's conceptual intelligence depends upon a greater store of experience, not necessarily directed to the solving of problems such as those which confront the child or chimp, but generalized manipulative experience coming from play with sticks and so forth.

Moreover, it is difficult to compare different species on a basis of their reactions to the same experimental situations, for so much depends upon the problem being meaningful for the animal and within its physical capabilities. For example, grasping is clearly impossible for a cat, and hence problems involving the grasping of levers, possible for chimpanzees, are insoluble by cats. So to trace the development of intelligence in animals is hazardous.

Professor Viaud's interest in the origin of intelligence leads him to a discussion of tools and the beginning of tool-using by man. He suggests that the appearance of



tools is an indication of the dawn of intelligence. Professor Pumphrey, however, has pointed out that the tools from the lower Paleolithic are singularly stereotyped in form, and concludes from this that tool-making may have originally been an instinctive behaviour pattern (there are clear indications that *Zinjanthropus* was a tool maker though an *Australopithecine*). But later tools, with their evidence of local traditions and even individual variation, suggest that these are the real indicators of the intelligent behaviour of their users.

This small book is a translation of one of the excellent 'Que Sais-je?' series, originally published in 1946, with photographs added (these do not illustrate the text but are largely self-explanatory). Professor Viaud is successful in this treatment of intelligence but less so when he deals with the behaviour of lower animals. He declares that the simplest behaviour of, say, flatworms, is entirely under the command of external forces, the Loebian doctrine; on the contrary, the internal environment has great influence; for example, when an animal is satiated its reaction to light may be the reverse of that of a hungry animal. Nevertheless these very criticisms are roused because the book is so intellectually interesting. It was well worth the good translation it has been given. In addition, the translator has brought the bibliography up to date.

J. D. CATHY

GARAGES AND SERVICE STATIONS. By Rolf Vahlefeld and Friedrich Jacques. London, Leonard Hill, 1960. 63s net

This book has been translated from the original German text by Dr. E. M. Schenk, J. Innes Elliott and C. R. Fowkes, and a further chapter has been added on English legislation relating to filling stations, garages and other buildings for motor vehicles. The book has been prepared in the typically thorough manner which we have now come to expect of German text-books. Every possible lay-out for parking, garage arrangements, etc., is listed, and the possibilities of alternative multi-storey parking systems are studied to an infinite degree, with an incredible variety of arrangements suggested as possible solutions to the problem. Even the modern house garage is analysed and thirty different planning solutions offered.

The book starts with a brief history of garages, filling stations, etc., beginning with the coach house of 1415, and then outlines the basic principles affecting the design of buildings for motor vehicles, from the single lock-up to the multi-storey garage. Petrol-filling stations are also studied and the alternative methods of construction, materials, equipment and future developments are all considered in an exhaustive manner.

Nearly half the book is devoted to illustrations, plans and photographs of the various building projects concerned with the motor car, and while there are a large number of excellent buildings illustrated—for example the Haniel-Garage in Düsseldorf, and some of the small Continental filling stations, particularly those on the autobahns in Germany—there are others which could well have been omitted, as they provide very little technical data and are certainly of a mediocre architectural quality. Perhaps the section of photographs illustrating garages for public service vehicles is the worst offender in this respect.

Altogether there are over six hundred illustrations and the general standard of lay-out, typography and presentation of the book is to be highly commended. It should be of considerable interest and value to all concerned with planning for the motor vehicle, particularly as most garages and service stations are badly designed, and there are few text-books to which the designer can turn for authoritative advice and assistance. This book should fill the very considerable gap.

EDWARD D. MILLS



ATLAS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION. By Dr. van der Meer. Translated by T. A. Burrell. New York, van Nostrand, 1960. £4 5s

This is the second, revised, edition of a book of the same name, first published in English in 1954. It is made up of three kinds of matter: 48 pages and end-papers of coloured maps, and text and excellently reproduced black and white photographs sharing 201 pages between them. There is a full index.

The book is divided into four sections—The Three Roots (of Western Civilization), Mediaeval Christendom, National Civilizations and their Expansion, From European to Atlantic World.

The very readable text is, broadly speaking, in the form of a history; but it contains a good deal of illuminating analysis, though sometimes it becomes a bare catalogue of names. Many people will enjoy possessing the book simply for the photographs, which are arranged so as to provide opportunities for interesting comparisons. The maps, however, are the most impressive part of the book—as befits an atlas—and show the remarkable possibilities of this medium for indicating the extent, movement, and influence of a culture.

In this revised edition a map of the Universities of the New World has been substituted for the map of the Monuments of Rome. The last chapter, 'The Technical Era', has been enlarged by several paragraphs from the pen of an anonymous American editor, and renamed 'The Twentieth Century' in the text, but not in the Table of Contents. The last seven pages of photographs have been changed. Whereas they previously illustrated the Technical Era they now illustrate the New World, and end with Rome and New York in striking juxtaposition. The effect on the book as a whole is immaterial. In both editions what comes after the European eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is only a tail-piece.

F. N. DAVEY

### SHORT NOTES ON OTHER BOOKS

WHO'S WHO IN ART. Tenth edition. London, Art Trade Press, 1960. 60s net

Extensive and careful revisions have been made to this useful work of reference, which now contains biographies of some 4,000 artists—most of them British, but including also outstanding figures in the international field. The familiar appendices of artists' monograms and signatures have been retained, and there is a useful list of abbreviations applied to Societies and qualifications in the world of art.

A TREATISE OF JAPANING AND VARNISHING, 1688. By John Stalker and George Parker. With an introduction by H. D. Molesworth. London, Tiranti, 1960. 42s net

Stalker and Parker's treatise was produced to meet the rage for things oriental in late seventeenth-century London and is a pioneer work in its field besides being, in Mr. Molesworth's phrase, 'a literary gem'. This reprint has been made in a style closely following that of the original, and preserving its essential flavour.

THE SCULPTURAL PROGRAMS OF CHARTRES CATHEDRAL: CHRIST; MARY; ECCLESIA. By Adolf Katzenellenbogen. Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1959. (London, O.U.P., 80s net)

Several workshops, separated by two generations, contributed to the sculptural decoration of Chartres Cathedral. The main purpose of this study is to investigate the main ideas governing the iconography of the sculptures, their connection with specific historical and ideological situations, and the relation of cycles carved at different times. There are 79 photogravure plates.

ROMANESQUE EUROPE. *With an introduction by R. H. C. Davis. Edited by Harald Busch and Berndt Lohse. With commentaries on the illustrations by Helmut Domke. London, Batsford, 1960. 45s net*

Apart from the brief introduction, this addition to the 'Buildings of Europe' series has been prepared by the same hands as were responsible for the earlier *Gothic Europe*, reviewed in the August, 1959, *Journal*. The standard of production is equally good, and the 224 photographs cover examples of the Romanesque style throughout Europe, including many buildings little known.

## FROM THE JOURNAL OF 1861

VOLUME IX. 24th May

### A METHOD OF REPRODUCING PICTURES ON GLASS

[*Extracted from a paper by F. Joubert, describing his invention of 'A New Method of Producing on Glass, Photographs or Other Pictures, in Enamel Colours'; read to the Society on 22nd May, 1861.*]

This invention has for its object improvements in reproducing photographic and other pictures, engravings, prints, devices and designs, on the surfaces of glass, ceramic, and other substances requiring to be fired to fix the same thereon.

For this purpose, I proceed in the following way: A piece of glass, which may be crown or flatted glass, being selected as free from defect as possible, is firstly well cleaned, and held horizontally while a certain liquid is poured on it. This liquid is composed of a saturated solution of bichromate of ammonia in the proportion of five parts, honey and albumen three parts of each, well mixed together, and thinned with from twenty to thirty parts of distilled water, the whole carefully filtered before using it. The preparation of the solution, and the mixing up with other ingredients, should be conducted in a room from which light is partially excluded, or under yellow light, the same as in photographic operating rooms, so that the sensitiveness of the solution may not be diminished or destroyed.

In order to obtain a perfect transfer of the image to be reproduced, the piece of glass coated with the solution, which has been properly dried by means of a gas stove . . . is placed face downwards on the subject to be copied in an ordinary pressure frame, such as is used for printing photographs.

The subject must be a positive picture on glass, or else on paper rendered transparent by waxing or other mode, and an exposure to the light will, in a few seconds, according to the state of the weather, show, on removing the coated glass from the pressure frame, a faintly indicated picture in a negative condition. To bring it out, an enamel colour, in a very finely divided powder, is gently rubbed over with a soft brush until the whole composition or subject appears in a perfect positive form. It is then fixed by alcohol in which a small quantity of acid, either nitric or acetic, has been mixed, being poured over the whole surface and drained off at one corner.

When the alcohol has completely evaporated, which will generally be the case in a very short time, the glass is quietly immersed horizontally, in a large pan of clean water, and left until the chromic solution has dissolved off, and nothing remains besides the enamel colour on the glass; it is then allowed to dry by itself near a heated stove, and when dry is ready to be placed in the kiln for firing.

It may be stated that enamel of any colour can be used, and that by careful registering, a variety of colours can be printed one after the other, so as to obtain a perfect imitation of a picture. . . .

It will be easy to perceive that this mode of obtaining an image on glass, in an

absolutely permanent substance, and of any description, colour, or size, may prove of considerable advantage and utility for the decoration of private houses, and also for public buildings. . . .

In large cities, like London, where houses are built so close to one another, in how many places may not the process become available, by enabling anyone to introduce, for a very moderate expense, pleasing or instructive images where common plain ground glass is now used, to shut out the sight of a disagreeable object, a dead wall, or an unpleasant neighbour, without diminishing the amount of light more than is convenient.

In the library, fitting subjects might be introduced on the windows by a judicious selection of the portraits of favourite authors, or of famous scenery at home or abroad. In the dining-room, also, appropriate pictures could be selected, such as flowers, fruit, or game subjects, so disposed as to harmonize with the decoration of the room. Even for domestic purposes, for lamps, or screens, or any object in glass, the process will be found useful, especially on account of its rapidity, which will enable the manufacturer to execute and to deliver an order at a very few days' notice.

### Some Activities of Other Societies and Organizations

#### MEETINGS

MON., TUES., THURSDAY. 1, 2 & 4 MAY. University of London, Senate House, W.C.1. 5.30 p.m. Professor G. Bonfante: *I. Sound and meaning; II. Sound and poetry; III. Sound and history.*

MON. 1 MAY. Royal Geographical Society, 1 Kensington Gore, S.W.7. 8.30 p.m. Captain R. H. Grant: *The conquest of Annapurna II.*

WED. 2 MAY. Analytical Chemistry, Society for, at Chemical Society, Burlington House, W.1. Papers by G. Ingram, Mrs. D. E. Butterworth, D. Holmes, J. Haslam, J. B. Hamilton and D. C. M. Squirrel.

Radio Engineers, British Institution of, at London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Keppel Street, W.C.1. 3 p.m. Symposium: *Computer control of air traffic.*

THURS. 4 MAY. Royal Commonwealth Society, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.2. 1.15 p.m. A. E. P. Robinson: *The year of decision in the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.*

Royal Society, Burlington House, W.1. 4.30 p.m. D. M. S. Hagguley, R. A. Steadling and J. S. S. Whiting: *I. Germanium & II. Silicon.*

FRI. 5 MAY. Royal Institution, 21 Albemarle Street, W.1. Bart J. Bok: *The southern Milky Way.*

THURS. 11 MAY. Royal Commonwealth Society, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.2. 1.15 p.m. Arabinda Basu: *Tagore the man.*

FRI. 12 MAY. Locomotive Engineers, Institution of, at Institution of Mechanical Engineers, 1 Birdcage Walk, S.W.1. 5.30 p.m. Sir Brian Robertson, The Sir Seymour Biscoe Tritton Lecture.

Royal Geographical Society, 1 Kensington Gore, S.W.7. 5.15 p.m. Captain R. C. Alabaster: *Airborne weather radar.*

Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society, at Overseas House, St. James's, S.W.1. 6.30 p.m. Dr. Arnold Baké: *Tagore as a musician.* Lily Freud-Marlé: *Recitation.*

Royal Institution, 21 Albemarle Street, W.1. T. Stanley Westoll: *A crucial stage in vertebrate evolution: fish to land animal.*

WED. 17 MAY. East India Association, at Overseas House, St. James's, S.W.1. 5 p.m. Dr. Sudhin Ghose: *Tagore's paintings and drawings.*

Radio Engineers, British Institution of, at London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Keppel Street, W.C.1. 6 p.m. Discussion: *Television wireless distribution.*

THURS. 18 MAY. Royal Society, Burlington House, W.1. 4.30 p.m. B. Katz: *The transmission of impulses from nerve to muscle, and the subcellular unit of synaptic action.*

4.30 p.m. B. Thwaites: *The aerodynamic theory of sails, I. two-dimensional sails & Sir Charles Darwin: The gravity field of a particle II.*

MON. 29 MAY & FRI. 2 JUN. University of London, at Institute of Archaeology, 31/34 Gordon Square, W.C.1. 5.45 p.m. Professor D. Schlumberger: *The origins of Greco-Buddhist art.*

MON. 29 MAY. Royal Geographical Society, 1 Kensington Gore, S.W.7. 8.30 p.m. David Attenborough: *Travels in Madagascar.*

#### OTHER ACTIVITIES

NOW UNTIL SAT. 6 MAY. Industrial Design, Council of, at Griffin & Spalding, Long Row, Nottingham. Exhibition: *The Design Centre comes to Nottingham.*

NOW UNTIL SAT. 13 MAY. Industrial Design, Council of, The Design Centre, 28 Haymarket, S.W.1. Exhibition: *Designs for a decade, 1951-61. A Festival of Britain anniversary display.*

FROM FRI. 5 MAY-SUN. 28 MAY. Commonwealth Institute, S. Kensington, S.W.7. Exhibition: *A poet's pictures. The drawings of Rabindranath Tagore.*

WEEK COMMENCING MON. 8 MAY. Commonwealth Institute, S. Kensington, S.W.7. Films: *Kerala-India: The rival world.*

MON. 15 MAY. Royal Geographical Society, 1 Kensington Gore, S.W.7. 6 p.m. Films of the Falkland Islands dependencies survey.

WEEK COMMENCING MON. 15 MAY. Commonwealth Institute, S. Kensington, S.W.7. Films: *Journey by jungle river—Malaya; Vintage Holiday—South Africa & Sugar bowl island—Mauritius.*

WED. 17 MAY-SAT. 3 JUNE. Industrial Design, Council of The Design Centre, 28 Haymarket, S.W.1. Design Centre awards 1961.

WEEK COMMENCING MON. 22 MAY. Commonwealth Institute, S. Kensington, S.W.7. Films: *Drums across the Lagoon—Cook Islands & 10,000 miles against the clock—Australia.*

WEEK COMMENCING MON. 29 MAY. Commonwealth Institute, S. Kensington, S.W.7. Films: *Banana Calypso—Jamaica; Scientists in the Antarctic & Above the timberline—Canada.*

961

ove  
lso

ow  
ce,  
ain  
all,  
n is

ous  
ad.  
ers,  
om.  
cess  
the

W.I.  
ulises  
it of

y of,  
win :

n, at  
quare,  
The

ngton  
ugh :

il of,  
ham.  
ham.

il of,  
W.I.  
stival

itute,  
tures.

itute,  
The

ngton  
lands

wealth  
sy by  
Africa

cil of  
W.I.

wealth  
Drums  
miles

wealth  
anana  
ic &